THINKING OUTSIDE THE BOX: EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY STRATEGIES AND THEIR EFFECTS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF GOOD GOVERNANCE IN NEW DEMOCRACIES

BY

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Abstract

The literature on transitions and democratization overwhelmingly supports the idea that opposition parties should pursue tactics akin to those used in Westminster and other Western democracies, and those the choice to pursue extra-parliamentary opposition tactics is ultimately anti-democratic. In particular, there is a popular consensus that opposition participation in boycotts prevents the development of democracy. This dissertation takes a critical look at this conjecture, evaluating its plausibility in the first dedicated mixed-methods study of parliamentary and electoral boycotts as extra-parliamentary opposition tactics. I argue that the choice to condemn the use of boycotts takes too narrow a view of the utility of extra-parliamentary tactics in new democracies. I support this claim through the use of case study analysis and dynamic panel data analysis, for which I constructed, using event data, the most extensive dataset on electoral boycotts and the first dataset on legislative boycotts. My findings in both parts show that there is indeed no difference between the likelihood that a country that experiences a boycott and a country which does not will experience good or improved democratic governance, refuting the literature's current consensus.

For Mom and Dad, who believed in me always.

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Chapter 1: An Introduction to the Boycott as an Extra-Parliamentary Tactic

In early 1997, a ghost appeared in the National Assembly of South Korea. President Kim Dae Jung and his National Congress party had called for hearings to investigate the question of culpability following South Korea's economic turmoil during the East Asian Financial Crisis. Several key figures of the preceding administration, including former President Kim Young-sam and his economic minister Kang Kyuk-Shik had been brought into parliament for this special investigation. When the economic crisis hit, dramatically depreciating the Korean won and causing investor panic and a banking crisis, Kang had been fired and then imprisoned on charges of negligence and abuse of power. Free on bail, the former minister was called to defend his actions in front of the National Assembly. Kim Dae Jung's decision to hold hearings on the financial crisis two years after the fact was marketed as a way to determine the causes of the crisis, inform the public about what went wrong, and what South Korea could do to prevent the issue from arising again (Baker 1999).

In the eyes of the New Korea Party (NKP) and Liberty Korea Party (GNP)—President Kim Young-sam's National Congress party's leading oppositions and the parliamentary majority parties—and other critics, this stated goal was deceptive. It had been two years since the financial crisis, and Korea was in recovery. The main economic and political causes of the crisis were considered to be fairly well known; the latter included poor macroeconomic policy, overzealous deregulation, weak monitoring of economic institutions, and the chaos of party politics and "blame games" in a legislative election year (Haggard and Mo, 2000). The hearings were unpopular, as both the public and the opposition considered them to be another sort of political game. In fact, international articles about the start of these hearings predicted that they would "probably be a partisan affair" (Wall Street Journal 1999). These predictions were proven

correct when the opposition declared its intention to boycott the legislature while the hearings were underway.

While the public mostly viewed these hearings as unnecessary, the opposition went a step further and characterized them as a tool of defamation and political vengeance, amounting to a political witch hunt (Baker 1999; Wall Street Journal 1999). They saw this as a continuation of a South Korean political tradition where the new leadership would punish or humiliate the old leadership. Now that the most pressing concerns of the economic crisis had been handled, they interpreted the hearings as the latest event in this tradition. Baker cites an opposition member who criticizes the decision, saying that members of the public "know [who] was responsible" and that the hearings were a ploy to cement Kim's power in South Korea (1999).

The hearings continued without the presence of the opposition, but their demonstration caught the attention of the public as well as the international audience. The financial crisis had political as well as economic consequences, resulting in heightened tensions between political parties. The world was watching South Korea, a country which had recently returned to democracy, to see what would happen. This public stage amplified the message being sent by the opposition, which called for movement beyond the political machinations of past leaders (which had been condemned by all parties, as long as they were serving as the opposition).

There is not much more English-language coverage of the parliamentary hearings or the boycott surrounding them, but this movement by the South Korean opposition is exemplary of the political goals of opposition parliamentary boycotts—in this case, drawing attention to government practices that they viewed as undemocratic. Oppositions around the world have many political goals and a plethora of tactics through which to pursue them, some of which follow institutional guidelines and others which require the opposition to turn to extra-

parliamentary tactics. Legislative and electoral boycotts are two methods that produce some of the strongest signals oppositions can send when they believe they face no possibility of satisfaction within institutions. This dissertation investigates choices to boycott, like that made by the South Korean opposition in January 1999, and the complicated story of how these boycotts affect the development of democratic governance in the long-run.

The Importance of Oppositions

The concept of effective democratic governance elicits many images in the minds of its citizens, but particularly conjures that of representatives from different political parties debating, writing legislation, and working together within the legislature. In fact, E.E. Schattschneider famously stated that "modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of the parties" (1942, 1). Even casual observation shows that politics in most modern democracies is comprised of a series of interactions between governing and opposition parties—in fact, opposition is so necessary to democracy that it is a major component of many of political science's most influential definitions of the concept (Dahl 1967; Dahl 1973, Przeworski 2015; Cheibub and Przeworski 1999). As democracies have diversified due to post-war waves of democratization, however, we find that fewer and fewer democracies necessarily work in the way described above, where non-government parties can fruitfully function as a parliamentary opposition; the parliamentary opposition is a Western model where the opposition has evolved to the point where it "acts as a critic of the party in power, developing, defining, and presenting the policy alternatives which are necessary for a true choice in reaching public decisions," and awaits the next election for their turn for a role in government (Katz and Crotty 2006). Still, casual and serious scholars of politics generally hold the normative assumption that parliamentary opposition is the best way to ensure that a government is fair and representative of its people's interest. Through a long period

of political evolution and the emergence of democratic and representative governments, parliamentary oppositions have come to be seen as the preferred pattern of political opposition (Dahl 1967; Helms 2008; Hoftstadter 1969; Ionescu and de Madariaga 1968), despite an empirical understanding that opposition parties in new democracies are forming in environments that are sometimes dramatically different from their counterparts in Western Europe, and act accordingly.

My dissertation is dedicated to observing the effects of extra-parliamentary strategies of opposition in new democracies—specifically, boycotting the legislature and boycotting elections—upon the development of democracy within these states. I examine the proposition that oppositions in countries which have not evolved according to the Western model may be able to achieve democratic outcomes despite functioning in a manner substantially different from the institutionalized parliamentary model, even to the extent that they seek to influence government outside of the walls of the legislative chamber. The suggestion that an opposition party's extra-parliamentary strategies could have beneficial effects upon democratic development is not a radical idea. Scholars have long recognized the existence of non-party and extra-parliamentary paths of opposition, with many scholars including them in typologies of oppositions (Blondel 1997; Kolinsky 1987) despite largely subscribing to the normative belief that an institutionalized parliamentary opposition is most conducive to democratic rule. Consequently, alternative forms and patterns of opposition are generally held as a suboptimal category of political opposition acting outside the realm of politics (Tilly and Tarrow 2006). The evidence presented both in my case studies (Chapter 4) and statistical analysis (Chapter 5 and 6) show that boycotts cause mixed effects, underlying the need for this deeper understanding of oppositions in emerging, non-Western democracies.

The Role of Opposition Parties

Historical analyses of the emergence of opposition in Western democracies paint a tale of gradual development. Ionescu and de Madariaga discuss the emergence of the political opposition—the "legitimate means through which power can be opposed"—through the development of liberal institutions and the emergence of public opinion as far back as the seventeenth century (1968, 3). The rise of pluralism emerged as a remedy for the political conflicts that characterize society—the conflict of interests and the conflict of values between groups. The emergence of civil society in the historical context allowed parliaments to become a place where members would advise and assist the ruler. Over time, these institutions themselves became the seats of sovereignty and the organs of representation, and political parties emerged as tools for groups with divergent interests. The parliament, as a home for political parties,

began to develop 'the constitutional remedy of opposition'. It acquired the function of an institution through which grievances could be ventilated and solved, not with the merely factional purpose of fomenting discontent, but with the genuine purpose of seeking a remedy; and it undertook the task of amending legislation with a view to improving it (Ionescu and de Madariaga 1968, 54).

The development of the opposition in Western Europe was not a smooth road, however. The English "formed opposition" was often considered disloyal and unrespectable, even through the 18th century (Hofstadter 1969, ix-x). The early days of the American system, too, resisted the emergence of political parties and considered party conflict to be inherently evil (ibid., 23). This belief is immortalized in The Federalist Papers #9 and #10, where Alexander Hamilton characterizes factions as "furious storms" composed of "tempestuous waves of sedition and party rage"; James Madison asserts that "the public good is disregarded in the conflicts of rival parties." Still, in both systems, parties emerged, and political leaders learned that the best way to control political parties was to constrain them through the counterbalance of other parties. Political leaders followed the opinion of Bolingbroke, who conceded that while parties were

undesirable, they were just as inevitable (Hofstadter 1969, 18). The establishment of one political party eventually led to the emergence of additional parties. Public opinion naturally encompasses divergent policy preferences, which created factions in government which led to the emergence of rival parties (Ionescu and de Madaraiga 1968).

As a result, Western political systems warmed up to the opposition and these parties became more than just electoral challengers to the regime but embraced the role of an alternative government (Hofstadter 1969; Ionescu and de Madariaga 1968, 51-57; Parry 1997). This is the primary function of oppositions in Western democracies—to serve as an alternative government, recommending alternative policies, criticizing the choices of the current government, aiming to thwart or initiate policy changes where possible, and awaiting the next election wherein they hope to be asked by the people to exercise power. This structure of opposition is most obvious in the Westminster system, where the opposition status is formally designated and enshrined as "loyal" (to the crown or, broadly, the state itself, even when opposed to the temporary government of the day). Of course, the traditional opposition is embedded with more goals and functions than simply serving as an alternative government. Ludgar Helms (2008) states that the opposition's original role was to limit the power of the government and constrain the actions of the executive.

Through an analysis of opposition in established democracies, Helms (2004) describes five possible patterns of opposition, categorized by formal institutional rules. These patterns (summarized in Table 1) depend upon the institutional structure, rules on co-governing, and the status of minority parties within a polity. Different structures produce oppositions with different strengths. Some institutions allow for a strong opposition by giving parties the veto power, the ability to propose alternative legislation, interpolation, and checks on the power of the president

or prime minister. Other states are characterized by institutions that severely limit the effects of the opposition parties by restricting co-governing powers.

Table 1.1: *Helms (2004) List of Opposition Patterns in Industrialized Democracies*	
Pattern of Opposition	**Example**
Parliament-centered opposition with no veto/co-governing powers for minority parties.	United Kingdom
Parliament-centered opposition with strong veto and/or cogoverning powers for the minority.	Germany
Parliamentary-presidential models of political opposition.	France
Separation-of-powers model of political opposition.	United States
Direct democratic model of political opposition.	Switzerland

For example, the opposition in Germany is endowed with formal powers and works within a system built upon power-sharing features. Instead of sitting and patiently awaiting election, the German opposition offers bills, negotiates policy compromises, and is a more direct participant in the legislative process. In France, on the other hand, the parliamentary-presidential model of opposition fosters an environment that can lead to the discontent of the opposition. The French system has been contentious since its inception, where oppositions were formed around divergent ideological trends in pursuit of different policies and in support of different values. The French opposition did not seek to provide an "alternative government" but was often anti-system, deciding they would need to overthrow the current government to achieve their goals (Ionescu and de Madariaga 1968, 61-62). In contemporary France, the weak position of parliamentary opposition is a relic of these times. In fact, the French system is the most similar to new democracies in Eastern Europe, as dissenting minorities often feel forced to abandon interparty politics and resort to extra-parliamentary actions in the face of institutions that severely restrain the opposition's ability to affect policy-making.

Academic discussions of opposition parties in democracies are typically separated into case or regional studies (Kopecky and Spirova 2008; Morgenstern, Negri and Peréz-Linán 2008; Rodan 1996; Schrire 2008; Tokes 1979; Webb and White 2007) and studies of specific types of institutional designs (Schapiro 1972). The divide is even more apparent when we look solely at the literature on new democracies. Scholars will typically look at Latin America, Eastern Europe, Africa, or East Asia in isolation, despite the fact that oppositions in these states often take similar forms or face comparable challenges (Webb and White 2007). For example, opposition parties in Latin America and Africa both rely on patronage and clientelism to court voters and, as a result, secure their role in parliament through the provision of localized goods. The establishment of an opposition in all regions is also hampered by the prevalence of personalist parties, created around one individual politician as a personal electoral vehicle and often contributing to high party volatility. Africa, Eastern Europe, and Latin America all face the challenge of presidential power which has prevented the establishment of a strong opposition by constraining the power of the legislative body itself, often forcing those who want change to look beyond institutional remedies. Finally, emerging democracies across the globe face the challenge of weak parties and weak party systems, which limit the establishment of an opposition akin to those we see in advanced democracies (Ames and Power 2007; Langston 2007; Szusterman 2007; Webb and White 2007). Such similar influences and constraints upon parties and the party system affords us an excellent opportunity to compare the effects of extra-parliamentary strategies at a cross-regional level and establish a better understanding of their implications for democratic rule.

Table 1.2: *Comparing Oppositions in Old and New Democracies*

Advanced Democracies	New Democracies
How did/do opposition parties form?	*How did/do opposition parties form?*
Initially • The party structure emerged naturally through coordination in pursuit of similar goals and ideals. • Parties in advanced industrialized democracies went through the four-stage model, moving from cadre parties to mass parties, followed by catch-all parties and then electoral-professional parties. Presently • When ties between the electorate weaken (evidenced by declines in party identification, party members, and partisan involvement), new parties can emerge in order to properly meet the aggregation of demand (Mair 1984). • Changes in the cultural domain that favor radicalization and polarization can cause the creation of new parties in order to meet new attitudinal demands (Ignazi 1992).	At transition • Initially, the way that parties emerge depends highly upon the type of transition that took place (O'Donnell and Schmitter 1986; Stepan 1997). • Some political parties emerged out of formerly repressed social movements (Dahl 1973). • Factional opposition may become actual opposition after the opening of a polity (Barghoorn 1967; Skilling 1967). • Other political parties were intentionally constructed to compete in pursuit of specific policies, to represent specific groups, or to benefit from political power itself. Presently • Much of the same motivation for the formation of parties continues, though parties are more likely to emerge in specific policy areas if the field is relatively open.
How do opposition parties act?	*How do opposition parties act?*
Westminster model • The opposition party must wait for their time to make policy, but forms a shadow government in order to oppose the actions of the government. Other models • Opposition parties are able to argue, debate, and negotiate with the government party to shape policy. • In some countries, opposition parties are able to put forth competing bills and use their actions in the legislature to block the government party. Unelected • If unelected, opposition parties wait for the next election or fizzle out.	• Opposition parties within the legislature are also constrained by similar features as advanced, industrialized democracies—veto powers (or lack thereof), etc. • Opposition parties are more likely to have an extra-parliamentary component as well as a parliamentary component.

This improved understanding has been challenging to achieve primarily due to the lack of comparative discussion of opposition parties in their functional role in favor of opposition parties in the challenger role. When scholars do discuss the functional role—individual parties' electoral strategies, policy proposals, and other activities—it tends to still be in the context of how oppositions will fare in future elections. The literature also faces a lack of discussion about the effects of opposition activities on governance and accountability. The importance of multiple party options for voters to choose from is obviously acknowledged for the endpoint of good governance and accountability, but once again scholars have not moved from considering the challenger role of oppositions to their functional role. The only sustained discussion of outcomes that consider the actions of the opposition is in the regime transitions literature, where authors such as Blondel (1997) and Stepan (1990; 1997) show how opposition goals and actions work to weaken autocratic regimes and lead to the adoption of democratic institutions.

In short, the current status of the literature leaves a lot of room for this dissertation project to shed light on how the extra-parliamentary actions of opposition parties affect their ability to contribute to good governance and accountability, and the subsequent prospects for democratic governance in emerging democracies. I can find no scholarly studies that directly address the main questions of this project, allowing it to serve as a distinctive contribution to both the study of opposition parties and the literature on emerging democracies and the process of consolidation.

Preliminary Definitions

This research project is concerned with the activities of opposition parties in new democracies (OPNDs). Each of these terms requires careful elaboration. As is typical in the social sciences, definitions of phenomena such as "opposition," "party," and "democracy" can be

nebulous and frequently contested. The following discussions of each key term highlight important understandings of each concept, as well as the working definitions that will be utilized for this project. Additionally, I take the time here to define each of the key phenomena of interest—electoral boycotts, parliamentary boycotts, and party-sponsored protests.

Opposition

Parry (1997) begins a long discussion of the key, largely unanswered questions facing the study of opposition by stating that the idea of opposition itself is a contested matter. For the most part, the task of making this distinction has largely fallen onto the individual researcher. Part of the definitional difficulty comes from the fact that opposition is a relational concept—"the character of the opposition is tied to the character of the government" (Blondel 1997, 463). As a result, opposition has historically been considered typologically, with scholars looking at families of governments and oppositions in order to determine what the opposition is (Dahl 1966; Blondel 1997). Sometimes, opposition has even been left undefined, with the reader to assume that the scholar is simply referring to something other than the government itself.

There are two questions that determine a definition of opposition. First, what is the opposition against? In other words, to what does the opposition present an alternative? Second, and more specifically, to what extent does an opposition have to be institutionalized? Does the researcher consider various forms of contentious politics—dissent, protest groups—to be opposition? Although my project looks at specific types of oppositions (political parties), my general definition of opposition is broader and does not depend upon institutionalization. Many scholars who study oppositions would agree—Blondel argues that scholars should expand beyond the liberal democratic context and include in the term "opposition" those activities that are not undertaken by political parties, or in the governmental context (1997, 465). Kolinsky includes, as oppositions, "new social movements" (1998, 468), and Helms (2004) describes how

much of the contemporary work on political oppositions is done within the context of this literature, as a whole. On the other hand, others argue that opposition is a term that should be used only in the strictest sense. Ionescu and de Madariaga argue:

> *Political opposition, in the sense in which is it is used here to distinguish it from political conflict, is the most advanced and institutionalized form of political conflict. Hence the term should be used of situations where an opposition is not merely allowed to function, but is actually entrusted with a function (1968, 9).*

For the purpose of this project, opposition takes the more malleable definition embraced by recent scholars (although it is further qualified later in this discussion). We will consider oppositions to be *organized groups that advocate or champion alternate forms of government design, different approaches to governance, or different political policies than the current government, and work (parliamentarily or extra-parliamentarily) to incorporate their ideas into government policy.*

Party

Like "opposition," "party" is a term that people immediately understand, though often struggle to describe definitively. In their role as mediating institutions between the government and the governed, political parties are given different definitional attributes by different authors. In 1957, Downs defined a political party as "a team of men (*sic*) seeking to control the governing apparatus by gaining office in a duly constituted election. By *team* we mean a coalition whose members agree on all their goals instead of on just part of them" (25). Alternatively, Aldrich proposes that "a political party is an institutionalized coalition, one that has adopted rules, norms, and procedures" (1995, 19). White (2006) lists no fewer than eight competing definitions of political party, some of which highlight beliefs, ideology, policy preferences, or the mere pursuit of public office.

Most definitions of political party contain, at a minimum, the fact that political parties produce candidates to seek office and influence within the government. A notable exception is V.O. Key, who also references the importance of extra-governmental political groups, which he believes fall under the umbrella description of political party (1942). In new democracies, it is more difficult to adhere to the minimal definition of party, as there are many instances of what we would otherwise call political parties refusing to participate in the electoral game, preferring, instead, to use extra-governmental means of pursuing their interests.

As a result, my working definition for political party is also broad, in order to allow for these groups which are important to the theory at work and the phenomenon of interest we wish to uncover. In terms of this undertaking, a political party is *an organizing structure for individuals in pursuit of similar policy, ideological goals, or political power used to coordinate in order gain an influence on government.*

Democracy

Two main schools exist when it comes to the task of defining democracy: those who believe a procedural distinction is adequate to understand what is and is not a democracy, and those who believe democracy requires not only fair elections but also some guarantees of freedoms and rights (substantive definition). There remains much contention over which type of definition is preferable, which is exacerbated by the dramatically different ways scholars operationalize democracy in each vein. Those who follow the procedural definition view the concept dichotomously—a country either meets the institutional requirements of democracy, or it does not. On the other hand, substantive measures of democracy employ indices that measure normative components of democracy alongside institutional ones. As a result, democracy is measured on a continuous scale from non-democratic, through partially democratic, to fully

democratic. This project looks at countries which are labeled democracies—however, a few of the potential variables of interest are components of substantive definitions of democracy, which introduces some danger in employing that type of definition. Therefore, in order to avoid confounding problems in my theory and analysis, I avoid the definitions that incorporate these ideas into the concept. Like the broad definitions of "opposition" and "party" reported above, the procedural definition of democracy provides a minimum level of democracy helpful to the development of this research project.

Specifically, in this project, I consider a country to be a democracy if it follows the definitions and distinctions in the Democracy and Dictatorship (DD) dataset. In it, democracies "are regimes in which governmental offices are filled as a consequence of contested elections" (Cheibub, Gandhi and Vreeland 2010, 69). Here, we see the two main prerequisites for democracy—that the leaders are elected representatives of the people, and that they are elected in substantially free and fair contests where non-governmental parties have some chance of winning office in these contests. More specifically, contestation is composed of three features—that the outcome of the election is not known in advance, that the winner of the election is able to take office, and that elections that meet the first two criteria take place at regular intervals (*ibid.*). Extending from this discussion are four explicit requirements for a country to be classified as a democracy:

1. *The chief executive must be chosen by popular election or by a body that was itself popularly elected.*
2. *The legislature must be popularly elected.*
3. *There must be more than one party competing in the elections.*
4. *An alternation in power under electoral rules identical to the ones that brought the incumbent to power must have taken place. (*ibid.*).*

This definition is particularly interesting in that it illustrates the importance of the principle of opposition in democracy. The last two requirements of this procedural definition

hold the presence of a viable opposition as a quality inherent in democracy. This harkens back to modern democratic theory's postulate that oppositions are key to determining the extent and quality of democratic governance (Dahl 1966; Przeworski 2015; Stepan 1997).

Electoral and Legislative Boycotts

A boycott, in general, is a choice an actor makes to refrain from taking an action. In politics, we observe a variety of boycott activities; this dissertation focuses on two of them—electoral and legislative boycotts, undertaken by political parties. Electoral boycotts occur *when a political party chooses not to contest an election by not putting any affiliated candidates on the ballot*. Electoral boycotts can be the strategy of a single party, a party alliance, or the entire political opposition[1]. Each of these instances will count as an electoral boycott in this dissertation.

My treatment of legislative boycotts, on the other hand, must be more regimented. While the nuances will be discussed further in Chapter 3, I count a legislative boycott as *the choice of a political party to remove itself from legislative procedure in a gesture of protest. This requires the coordination by party leaders, and the participation of all representatives affiliated with that party.* If a single representative, or small group, removes themselves from legislature, then it will not count as a legislative boycott. During a legislative boycott, the political party will not attend sessions or otherwise participate in the legislative process.

Contributions, Conclusions, and Implications

While it is universally believed that opposition parties play an important role in fostering the development of democracy, remarkably little is understood about the way specific opposition

[1] Lindberg (2004) categorizes these as "partial" and "total" boycotts, respectively. Beaulieu (2006), on the other hand, classifies boycotts involving only some opposition parties as "minor" boycotts, and those involving all opposition parties as "major" boycotts.

goals and tactics—the functional role of oppositions—can affect the path of democratization. This is a gap in the literature that I seek to fill with my dissertation. Despite an empirical understanding that opposition parties in new democracies have formed and are forming in manners and environments that are sometimes dramatically different than their counterparts in Western Europe, the Western model of opposition remains the normalized ideal and the consensus is that extra-parliamentary activity on the part of opposition parties erodes democracy.

This project is meant to challenge this consensus. In this chapter, I provided the background necessary to understand the role of the opposition in democratic theory. I described the genesis of the opposition in Western democracy, and how political philosophers moved from considering competing parties to be a detriment to governance to valuing the effects of the interactions between government and a loyal opposition (Hoftstadter 1969; Ionescu and de Madariaga 1968). By understanding the history of the opposition party, we can begin to better understand why the normalized ideal of the Western model of opposition was able to take such strong roots in political philosophy and, in turn, come to influence the field's normative considerations of what makes democracy work.

This area has been relatively unexplored in the fields of comparative politics, democratic consolidation, or party politics. Naturally, this leaves a lot of area to explore and allows me to contribute to the expansion of the literature on the functional role of opposition parties as compared to the challenger role of opposition parties, the latter of which has been studied much more rigorously in this subfield. Beyond building on the consideration of the functional role of opposition parties, my study will also increase our understanding of long-term effects of opposition goal selection, tactic choices, and the consequences these hold for the development of democratic governance.

If my research supports my challenge to the assumption that extra-parliamentary tactics have negative repercussions on democracy, there are many implications for our understanding of democratization and how we use that understanding to influence international policy-making. First, acceptance of this theory could further work to break the often implicit habit social scientists have of relying on the Western democratic experience as the "ideal" path to establishing and consolidating democracy. If it is shown that a deviation from the Westminster or other Western opposition models is not fundamentally detrimental to the development of democracy, as commonly hypothesized, scholars could also come to terms with this in other areas of democratization studies. This study could also have implications for the way policy-makers treat those countries developing democratic governance—for example, as members in intergovernmental organizations, particularly those entering the European Union. If the path to good governance for those countries that experience opposition boycotts is comparable to those who do not, as is shown by the mixed results in my qualitative analysis and null results in my statistical analysis, then Western policy-makers evaluating a country's trajectory can decrease criticism and sanctions against those countries that do not follow the Western ideal and instead may choose to provide different forms of development assistance.

Outline of Chapters

In the next chapter, I will present my theoretical frame in the context of a review of the literature. This review incorporates both the nascent literature on boycotts and opposition actions, as well as relevant dimensions of the much-larger democratic transitions literature. I begin with a discussion of types of goals sought by opposition parties and the tactics that they use to pursue these goals. Here, I compare and contrast the goals and tactics used by parties in established democracies and those in new democracies. Following this, I delve into the literature

on opposition parties and extra-parliamentary tactics, discussing what we know about legislative and electoral boycotts and their repercussions. I illustrate how, despite widely accepted assumptions, there are circumstances in which boycotts can be seen as a strong political signal and circumvent issues in the development of democratic institutions caused by poor opportunities for communication within institutions. This effort was begun by Beaulieu who, in her own dissertation, conducted the first analysis of the long-term effects of electoral boycotts (2006). The signals of both electoral and legislative boycotts can create a new path for increases in democratic governance that would otherwise have been prevented or, at the very least, prevent the occurrence of a boycott from contributing only detrimental effects. I finish by identifying a few scope conditions under which boycotts may fail to have the expected negative effects, or even have a positive effect upon the long-term development of democratic governance; these scope conditions are targeted protests, frequency, and international interest. I finish by discussing why the most likely outcome of my large-N investigation is the statistical null, while the nuances of my case studies indicate that a variety of political and historical variables interact to determine the effectiveness of extra-parliamentary tactics.

Chapter Three will be devoted to three case studies. The first exemplifies how legislative boycotts can have a positive effect upon democratic development; the second does the same for electoral boycotts. The third shows how, when my scope conditions are not satisfied, boycotts can have negative consequences for the development of democracy. I employ these case studies for several reasons: First, by focusing on specific cases I can draw more meaningful connections between the goals expressed by the opposition, their choice to boycott, and the consequences of that boycott. Second, case studies are useful tool to identify key variables that may have otherwise been overlooked, as similarities and differences between cases and their outcomes can

highlight potential causal variables. Finally, focusing on specific cases will allow me to more accurately trace causal patterns from the establishment of political goals through the choice to boycott and to the outcomes this choice has on democratic governance (George and Bennett 2005).

Chapter Four will describe my data-generating process, followed by an analysis of the descriptive statistics. In discussing this process, I highlight the unique challenges of constructing a dataset using convenience samples and text analysis. My data on legislative and electoral boycotts are event data, generated in part by the Cline Center for Advanced Social Science Research's Global News Archive. After discussing the data generation process involved in constructing the new data on boycotts, I will describe the dependent and control variables included in my dataset. The chapter concludes with a review of the descriptive statistics surrounding legislative and electoral boycotts and related variables.

Chapters Five and Six will present my statistical analysis. The first of these chapters will focus on legislative boycotts and their effects on rule of law, accountability, and corruption. The following chapter then turns to electoral boycotts in an attempt to increase our understanding of their consequences by observing the long-term effects of the opposition's choice to refrain from electoral competition. Chapter 6 expands upon Beaulieu's 2006 study by 1) extending the analysis to 2016, and 2) moving beyond the conceptualization of democratic change as a change in laws to democratic change as a change in expert measures of key components of democratic rule. Validation of my theory will depend on whether my analysis disproves the null hypothesis, that extra-parliamentary actions by the opposition in new democracies is correlated with lower scores on good governance indicators. I will also test three additional hypotheses in each chapter. I test, first, the three null hypotheses stipulating that, when opposition parties choose to

participate in legislative boycotts, the country will experience a lower level of rule of law and accountability and higher levels of corruption. The counterpart theory in Chapter Six will test the same hypotheses with electoral boycotts in the role of explanatory variable. I will test these hypotheses using dynamic panel data analysis of the country-year datasets. Dynamic panel data analysis is an ideal tool for this study because it will show patterns both within and across country clusters with lagged dependent variables, as well as an analysis of how well the model works over all.

The main finding of this project—that there is no statistical evidence supporting the common perspective that boycotts are detrimental to the development of democracy—as well as its implications, will be discussed in the concluding chapter. I will reflect on those aspects of my qualitative and quantitative analyses that support or challenge the theory presented in Chapter 2. I will also discuss the wider implications of the findings generated by my research. Finally, I will discuss some additional avenues of inquiry that could build upon our understanding of what we should expect in terms of political development after opposition parties choose to pursue extra-parliamentary tactics.

Chapter 2: Debating the Common Perspective on Boycotts

The first chapter provided background on the rise of oppositions and on the existing consensus on how an effective opposition functions in democracies. This chapter will begin with a brief, general discussion of goals and tactics of opposition parties in new democracies. Then, I focus the current state of the literature on opposition parties and extra-parliamentary tactics. Like the study of opposition parties in new democracies in general, the literature on their choices to pursue extra-parliamentary tactics and the effects of these tactics in a fledgling state. Much of it focuses on specific case or region studies and is typically interested in the immediate outcomes of opposition party extra-parliamentary tactics (Beaulieu 2006). More frequently, discussion of opposition parties' choices to pursue extra-parliamentary tactics are only briefly discussed in accounts of governance in new democracies and brushed aside as a symptom of poor democratic development (e.g. Moniruzzaman 2009). Despite the lacuna in the existing research, however, it nevertheless presents a wealth of background information.

After discussing why the literature overwhelmingly seems to accept that boycotts, as extra-parliamentary tactics, are bad for democracy, I lay out why this point-of-view is too simplistic to accurately capture the nuances of the effects of such tactics. In doing so, I also describe some circumstances under which we can expect to see that an opposition's extra-parliamentary actions may prove not to be detrimental to the development of democracy or, in some cases, may even help.

As hinted at in the first chapter, political parties, generally, are formed by a group of people who seek some outcome currently unavailable to them in the existing party system. Where oppositions in Western democracies arise to propose alternative policies and eventually gain control of government, popular understanding of oppositions in new democracies can differ.

Scholars frequently characterize them as seeking to represent specific interests of certain (often under-represented) groups in parliament or seeking to gain political power for specific individuals (Dahl 1973; Webb and White 2007). We also frequently see opposition parties trying to evoke institutional or constitutional change, as well as proposing or opposing policy (Abedi 2004; Dahl 1996; Dahl 1973; Ierceri 1992; Ignazi 1996; Webb and White 2007). Table 3, below, provides a non-exhaustive list of opposition party goals.

Table 2.1: Opposition Parties: Goals and Tactics

Goals of New Opposition Parties	Tactics of New Opposition Parties[2]
1. To gain control of government. 2. To monitor the government party. 3. Institutional or constitutional change. 4. To gain political office 5. To propose new policy. 6. To change existing policy. 7. To represent the interests of a particular group.	1. Electoral competition. **2. Abstaining from electoral competition.** **3. Boycotting parliament.** 4. Criticizing the government party in media. 5. Criticizing government policy in media. 6. Proposing alterative policy. 7. Voting with the government. 8. Voting against the government. 9. Participating in protests. 10. Calling for protests. 11. Setting up a shadow government.

Tactics, on the other hand, are the actions that opposition parties pursue in order to achieve these goals. Many times, these tactics depend upon where opposition parties operate in the regime. In industrialized democracies, opposition parties risk being considered illegitimate or irrelevant if their primary functions lie outside of government institutions. As a result, these tactics are rarely on the list of viable options for oppositions in these states. In new democracies, however, there are many more paths available to opposition parties—these options are listed in the second column of Table 3, above. Opposition parties can choose to follow the norm and act like those in Westminster democracies, biding their time and garnering support until the next

[2] Tactics in bold are the focus of this dissertation project.

election. Alternatively, they can act more like US and German oppositions[3] and challenge the policies of the government and propose alternative laws (Helms 2004). They can also hold office and act within parliament but maintain an extra-parliamentary front to oppose government from the outside. These tactics are available to all opposition parties, regardless of location. Opposition parties in new democracies are less restricted by institutional norms limiting extra-parliamentary action, as in established democracies, so they are more likely to choose less normatively "ideal" methods of influencing government.

Extra-Parliamentary Tactics of Opposition Parties

Before I delve further into the small literature on opposition parties and extra-parliamentary tactics, it is prudent to address a related question: Why are the extra-parliamentary tactics of opposition parties an interesting phenomenon? In other words, why do I expect these actions, in particular, to have a meaningful effect on the development of democracy in recently transitioned countries? In short, as this section will illustrate, the literature on oppositions and extra-parliamentary activity is often highly critical of such actions. In fact, there is a portion of the democratization literature that considers mass protests in new democracies a sign that democracy is eroding. It makes sense that, by extension, they would consider oppositions working outside of their designated spaces and in such unconventional methods another, perhaps even stronger, indicator that democracy may be beginning to fail. After all, how can we expect the system to work if even the political elites have to move outside of it in order to get things done? However, this assumption that oppositions moving some of their methods outside of parliament is indicative of a failure in the adoption of democracy actually overlooks a few important characteristics that could *help* the development of democratic rule, in the long run.

[3] See, again, Table 1.1 in the previous chapter.

In this study, I narrow down the broad category of extra-parliamentary tactics to two types of tactics: electoral boycotts and legislative boycotts. While electoral boycotts have frequently been studied before (Beaulieu 2010; Beaulieu and Hyde 2009; Frankel 2010; Kelley 2011; Lindberg 2004; Smith 2013; Posusney 2002), legislative boycotts have not received the same attention. Accounts of the consequences of legislative boycotts are mostly limited to historical analyses or case studies (Lal 1993), with the exception of Spary (2013), who includes it in her analysis of legislative protest in democracies. This section of the chapter has two goals: first, to reiterate the definition of legislative and electoral boycotts from the first chapter and then indicate the characteristics that allow us to identify their occurrence. Second, this section serves as a review of the literature on electoral and legislative boycotts and their consequences. The introductory chapter provided a basic definition of electoral and legislative boycotts. As a reminder, I generally defined boycotts as "a choice an actor makes to refrain from taking an action." In the case of electoral boycotts, it is the decision not to contest an election; in the case of legislative boycotts, it is the decision of a party to remove itself from the legislative process.

Legislative Boycotts

Legislative boycotts are an act of legislative protest; other examples include sit-ins, walkouts, and collective disobedience within the chamber (Spary 2013). In the first chapter, I defined legislative boycotts as *the choice of a political party to remove itself from legislative procedure. This requires coordination by party leaders, and the participation of all representatives affiliated with that party.* Legislative boycotts can be small or large-scale, with one or more parties joining in on the boycott.

An important quality of the legislative boycott that should not be ignored is its ability to be employed as a substitute for its cousin, the electoral boycott. Boycotting an election means that an opposition party has made the extremely costly choice of removing itself from the

position to take part in any institutionalized policy or constitutional remedy. If an opposition party elects to participate in a legislative boycott, however, the party has the freedom to abstain for any period of time and not, by necessity, for an entire election cycle. The legislative boycott affords the opposition party with more discretion on when it can come back to the table and negotiate with the government. This question of when the opposition will return and the often detrimental effects an opposition walk-out has on the legislature's functionality can help instigate concessions or start negotiations with the government. This also helps to explain why legislative boycotts occur more frequently—they are less costly signals than opposition boycotts. The choice between the electoral and legislative boycott is evident in several cases, particularly that of the Fijian Labour Party (FLP) in the May 1992 election. The Indo-Fijian community was at odds with the dominant ethnic-Fijian community, particularly considering the new constitution, which they called "racist, authoritarian, undemocratic, and feudalistic" (Lal 1993, 286). The FLP's coalition partner, the National Federation Party (NFP), also considered boycotting the election but abandoned this plan in July 1991. The NFP had decided that international pressure would not be enough to force the government to reconsider negotiations over the constitution and the boycott wasn't popular enough among Indo-Fijians to be a powerful enough signal to the government, and thus that their only recourse was to work for change from within the legislature. Party leader Jai Ram Reddy asserted that agreeing to participate in elections was not acceptance of the constitution as it stood, but a way to get to where the party's efforts had a chance of bringing about a change. The NFP took longer to come to the same conclusion but, when it did declare its intention to contest the election in April 1992, party leadership described the movement from electoral boycott to (intended) parliamentary boycott in merely a change in party strategy and not a change in party position on the constitution (Lal 1993, 289).

Electoral Boycotts

Like legislative boycotts, electoral boycotts are an example of protest but *within the electoral arena*. Unlike legislative boycotts, electoral boycotts are one of the only examples of such protest in this arena that is within the realm of the political elite rather than that of civil society. In the first chapter, I defined electoral boycotts as *an instance when a political party chooses not to contest an election by not putting any affiliated candidates on the ballot*. Like legislative boycotts, electoral boycotts can involve one or more political parties, and this dissertation will consider all such instances as electoral boycotts. Some scholars, such as Lindburg (2004) and Beaulieu (2006), consider the nuances between full/major or partial/minor boycotts, distinguished by the number of parties that participate in the boycott; this study does not, forgoing an in-depth analysis of electoral boycotts in favor of the overall study of boycotts as an opposition tactic.

What is "good governance"?

Good governance stands as the outcome under investigation in this dissertation. But what is good governance, and how we do know if a country has it? The literature on governance is mixed on what, exactly, good governance means, as well as how to measure it from state to state. This has been true since governance, as a concept, began to rise in popularity in the democracy and development literature during the 1980s. In describing these earlier times de Alcantara says that "'governance'…is being used by groups of very different ideological persuasion, for a number of different and often contradictory ends" (2008, 106). In one attempt to clarify the concept, Rothstein and Teorell (2008) describe four popular and competing notions of what good governance is—impartial institutions, democracy, rule of law, and efficiency/effectiveness[4]. In

[4] Huntington (1968) and Fukuyama (2013) argue for the inclusion of government capacity as a fifth alternative conceptualization of good governance.

short, each of these notions is an attempt to conceptualize how well government works. Agnafors argues that definitions of good governance need to be more complex than a list of desirable qualities, but also include a variety of complex values and "moral content" (2013, 437). Faced with such a debate on what makes "good governance", it is sometimes easier to identify what bad governance is. Diamond defines bad governance and "governance that is drenched in corruption, patronage, favoritism, and abuse of power" (2007, 119). In studying governance and ascribing a qualifier of "good" or "bad", therefore, many measures look to observe phenomena that challenge good governance and discern the magnitude of their negative attributes.

These popular definitions and their corresponding measures of good governance are the subject of much debate in the literature, revolving around how well such measures can capture the complicated nature of "good governance" and how valid or reliable such data is in statistical analysis. The task of measuring phenomena such as political stability, government effectiveness or regulatory quality—such as Kaufmann et. al. (2010) do in the Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI)—relies on the perceptions of experts on individual governments. As such, these measures are criticized for lacking objectivity and promoting deterministic idea of governance, based on Western perspectives (Holmberg et. al. 2009). Langbein and Knack (2010), for example, state that the WGI's six indicators do not actually measure six aspect but seem to be giving only subtly different measures of one concept. Erkkila and Piironen provide a more general concern: that, by calculating complicated measures of good governance, social scientists effectively depoliticize governance and transform these issues into phenomena that can only be understood by those with expert knowledge (2014, 356).

Despite the problems that come from defining good governance as the extent to which a country can check off the achievement of a list of notions and the criticisms of perception-based

measures such as the WGI, this dissertation still utilizes both. The debate over defining good governance, while theoretically interesting, is not directly important for the way I utilize the concept in this study. I am interested not in the overarching concept of good governance but in specific achievements in rule of law, control of corruption, and accountability that can credibly lead to increases in good governance and democratic development. Secondly, despite this criticism, the WGI is one of the most widely-used measures of good governance and its components; employing these measures will allow my dissertation to speak more directly to those studies that have come before.

Theory

First, let's take a step back and return to the question of why boycotts, in general, are interesting to those of us who study the development of democratic rule. Kelley describes boycotts as a "political decision" undertaken by political parties and political factions (2011, 1528). This framework is particularly useful as it emphasizes both the party's role as a rational actor and the fact that removing one's party from politics is, in fact, making a political statement and sending a signal to the government. Boycotts are dramatic means of sending signals. By removing themselves from the electoral contest, parties lose access to the rewards of government and the ability to influence policy. Removing themselves, even temporarily, from the legislature can also prevent the opposition party from promoting its own goals or blocking legislation that it finds in conflict with its goals. Boycotts are costly, as a result; as such, the opposition has many incentives to avoid them. Therefore, when oppositions choose to boycott, they are making the tactical choice to send a strong message to the government and to their supporters.

Second, let us return to and evaluate the assumption that oppositional employment of extra-parliamentary tactics would be bad for democracy. Political scientists have looked to

normative guidelines to support this claim, such as Moehler and Lindberg's (2009) discussion of how democratic consolidation requires political parties that have a "shared appreciation" of the state's institutional legitimacy, including that of the electoral process (1448-1449). By boycotting elections, parties cast doubt on the legitimacy of the political process, which can stall or prevent democratic consolidation. To Pastor (1999), this effect was so great that he considered an election boycotted to be an election failed. The possible delegitimization of the political sphere by the political elite can be taken as an indication that the democratic form of governance is not working. To be sustained, democracy requires an institutional legitimacy in a way that a previous autocratic government did not. While boycotts can be useful tools in electoral autocracies, Moehler and Lindberg (2006) postulate that the inception of democratic rule means that that these tactics must be abandoned, for fear of undermining democracy and the people's faith in the process.

Other works by Lindberg continue this discussion, employing empirical analyses of boycotts and their effects on democracy. Lindberg (2006a), as well as Kelly (2001), argue that electoral boycotts negatively affect democracy by lessening the quality of elections and limiting the people's choice of representatives. Opposition party participation works to legitimize and eventually help to institutionalize democratic elections. Lindberg (2004) explains how removing potential representatives can adversely affect the development of democracy:

> *"It seems to follow from the very nature of the elections that increased participation of opposition parties and candidates would lead to higher levels of popular participation by inducing choice and competition, resulting in more frequent alternations in power." (13)*

Recall the requirements of democracy provided by Cheibub, Gandhi, and Vreeland (2010) and discussed in the introductory chapter: alternations are a necessary component to a

democracy. If we focus on the procedural definition of democracy, states that fall short of the alternation requirement cannot be considered democratic. Of course, we are primarily looking at states that *have* experienced alternations[5], and because of that we are not too concerned with this effect on the establishment of democracy. Still, it poses the question as to whether the consolidation of democracy can continue if one of its components falls short. If opposition parties refuse to take part in elections, scholars reason, then the people are being deprived of the full stratum of representation that they deserve. There are groups in society with specific needs and interests that will effectively be silenced if the parties that serve these interests abstain from electoral competition.

However, some of this concern may be overstated, since it is rare that viable opposition parties would refuse to participate in elections for an amount of time that would cause considerable setbacks for democratic development, which likely explains why those studies that determine that boycotts negatively affect democracy all look at short-term effects. Once again, as Kelley (2011) explains, boycotts are costly choices for political parties. If a party chooses to boycott an election, they decide to have no political representation in the legislature until the next electoral cycle. The Jordanian opposition parties, for example, chose to hold a total boycott of the 1997 elections as a protest against electoral laws that curtailed the opposition, specifically the move from a block vote system to a one-person one-vote system (Ryan 2011). The opposition's choice to boycott the election created a parliament which was almost exclusively made up of monarchy loyalists and conservative-leaning tribal leaders until the next elections in 2003—a costly choice, indeed. Sparked by such examples, Frankel posits that electoral boycotts are costly

[5] The cases used in this study are those countries that coded as "democratic" by CGV, as well as the Type I error countries. These are ones that have not experienced an alternation. As a result, there are six countries that do not satisfy the alternation requirement yet are included in this dataset.

signals and recommends that threats of boycotts should not be followed through, because they have "disastrous consequences" for the political party and often only succeed in further entrenching the government (2010, 1). Regarding legislative boycotts, if a party chooses to boycott parliament, they resign themselves to not influencing the development of legislation and policy. They also potentially deny themselves the ability to vote against legislation that could hurt them or their constituents. Such a decision has a chance of damaging the party's political future. Parties thus have an incentive to avoid making the costly decision to boycott elections or the legislature. Recall our emphasis on Kelley's description of boycotts as "political decisions" and how it emphasizes the party as a rational actor (*ibid.*) Parties must weigh the costs and benefits of boycotting in their systems, and the discussion above emphasizes just how high these costs may be. Therefore, it's not expected that parties will make the decision to boycott lightly.

To reiterate, those who believe that extra-parliamentary tactics, such as electoral or legislative boycotts, are bad for democracy believe so for four reasons: First, that boycotts lessen the quality of elections by leaving portions of the population without representation in government (Beaulieu 2006; Kelley 2011; Lindberg 2004). Second, that by removing viable parties from electoral competitions, boycotts reduce the occurrence of alternations in power. Third, boycotts signal a lack of appreciation for institutional legitimacy and may undermine the public's confidence in the democratic process. Finally, legislative boycotts, as "nonconventional", "disorderly" and "disruptive" forms of opposition can also limit representation and deliberation in democracies, affecting accountability and governance (Spary 2013). Beyond that, they can lead to a "paralysis" of the legislative body, where the emerging democratic institution can fail to become the center of legislation and governance (Moniruzzaman 2009). In short, the widely-accepted theory argues that extra-parliamentary

opposition is a symptom of low-quality democracy primarily because it damages vital links between the population, the political class, and government. These postulations, however, are relatively untested in large-N statistical analyses, or in the long-run. In fact, there are several scope conditions in which these consequences could be ameliorated or that benefits could arise in the long-run; as a result, I posit that those who describe boycotts as detrimental to democracy are failing to look at the whole picture, which presents much more variety in the outcomes of these extra-parliamentary tactics.

In evaluating extra-parliamentary tactics is important to remember that scholars have long recognized the existence of non-party and extra-parliamentary paths of opposition: for example, Blondel (1997) and Kolinsky (1987) include them their respective typologies of oppositions since they often encompass voices and demands that would otherwise be left unheard by government. I argue that the movement outside of parliamentary institutions does not necessarily silence voices, as the above scholars have argued, but can in fact make some voices more easily heard. The democratization literature is full of examples of how mass protests lead to the opening of authoritarian rule and the transition to democracy by allowing society to signify its expectations of government (Bunce 2003; Geddes 1999; Mainwaring, O'Donnell and Valenzuela 1992; Teorell 2010). The mere establishment of procedural democracy cannot be expected to immediately clarify communication paths between outside groups and the government—in fact, those new democracies that are not well-institutionalized may experience representational challenges akin to those in autocracies. I argue that extra-parliamentary actions can help produce more democratic outcomes over the long-run, improving representation and accountability by clarifying the positions of the opposition and allowing them to air their grievances and desires. At the very least, the long-term effects of extra-parliamentary action may

be dependent on certain conditions. Where the widely-accepted theory argues that extra-parliamentary actions damage democracy by removing some perspectives from government, I argue that these consequences are situational and that extra-parliamentary action can also act as a corrective by establishing new paths of communication between the people, the opposition, and the government.

Beaulieu's unpublished 2006 dissertation can be considered a precursor to the analysis undertaken in this dissertation. In her study, Beaulieu sought to answer two questions, (1) why do parties boycott elections and (2) how do electoral boycotts effect democracy in developing countries. In answering the second question, Beaulieu provides the first study of the long-term effects of electoral boycotts. While her first subject of inquiry is beyond the scope of this analysis, I build upon the second point by extending the study beyond her universe of 66 electoral boycott cases between 1990 and 2002 to 78 electoral boycotts and 181 legislative boycotts between 1961 and 2016. Where Beaulieu seeks to distinguish between major and minor boycotts—designations primarily based upon the number of political parties that participate in the boycott—my distinction is between boycotts by parties seeking access to the legislature and those that already play a role in governance. Finally, in considering effectiveness of boycotts, Beaulieu uses changes in law or better adherence to existing laws, measured dichotomously, as a proxy for democratic improvements. I take a more direct approach and employ measures of quality of governance as a continuous variable to account for changes in democracy. In short, Beaulieu's efforts are largely dedicated to the *why* of boycotts, while my study primarily focuses on the long-term effects of boycotts as an example of the role played by extra-parliamentary tactics in democratization.

Although I consider both legislative and electoral boycotts and Beaulieu (2006) focuses only on electoral boycotts, she makes an argument about the processes through which electoral boycotts can improve democratic governance similar to the one I propose above. In her dissertation, Beaulieu analyzes the relationship between major electoral boycotts[6] and political reform (as related to accountability). She argues that major electoral boycotts can cause an increase in democratic quality by motivating the incumbent to 1) change the law, and/or 2) better adhere to existing laws (*ibid.*, 122); I posit that extra-parliamentary actions also allow oppositions the opportunity to transmit a clearer signal of policies they desire and the lengths to which they would go to see them instituted. Beaulieu also makes the important point that I have repeated here—those who argue that electoral boycotts are the "death toll" of democracy do so because they focus on the short-term repercussions, i.e. the representational void discussed above. She shows that there is a significant relationship between major electoral boycotts and instances of reform following elections, with reforms seven times more likely to follow a boycotted election than one without a boycott (*ibid.*, 129).

Beyond Beaulieu's study, little has been done to test either perspective on how extra-parliamentary actions affect democracy. Most attempts take the same case-centric course as Baxter (1996) or Lal 1993). Baxter provides a historical account of Bangladeshi politics between 1990 and 1996, chronicling the relationship between government and opposition. He shows how policy disagreements between the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), the governing party, and the opposition (mostly spearheaded by the Awami League) resulted in parliamentary boycotts, leading to the mass resignation of opposition members in December 1994 and the almost total

[6] Beaulieu defines a major boycott as one which involves a majority of the opposition. This is juxtaposed by minor election boycotts, which comprise of a few small parties and fall short of the majority of the opposition. She is not clear what "majority" indicates, but it is highly implied that she means a majority of seats (2006, 29-30).

boycott of parliamentary elections in February 1995. The latter primarily discusses the lead-up to the first democratic elections in Fiji following the 1987 coups. Of particular interest is his account of the dissolution of the National Federation Party-Fiji Labor Party coalition in 1992, a consequence, in part, of disagreement over the question of whether or not to boycott the May 1992 election. The vast majority of the literature, on the other hand, focuses on determining under which circumstances parties will pursue extra-parliamentary actions, particularly boycotts—while an important question, this portion of the literature glosses over the *effects* of such actions. In-depth treatment of boycotts is rare; Lindberg (2004; 2006), Beaulieu (2006), and Beaulieu and Hyde (2005) are the exceptions, and they focus only on electoral boycotts. Only the latter two are, then, interested in the *consequences* of these boycotts. I am the first to consider the effects of both boycott types of extra-parliamentary opposition tactics upon democracy.

Scope and Conditions

Having established justification for my proposal that extra-parliamentary actions can improve democratic outcomes in new democracies, I now move to discussing *under what conditions* this can be true. In other words, this section identifies the scope conditions, or parameters under which my theory applies, clarifying under what circumstances null or positive outcomes can follow legislative and electoral boycotts. While these scope conditions were identified drawing on the existing literature on boycotts, it is also heavily influenced by the literature on democratic transitions. I have identified the following necessary conditions under which the opposition's choice to pursue extra-parliamentary tactics will not have negative repercussions on democratic development, exemplified by measures of good governance. First, the boycotts must be targeted to specific goals, which are clearly expressed and easily identified as having been met by government or not. Second, legislative, electoral, or legislative *and*

electoral boycotts cannot be held too frequently. Finally, legislative and electoral boycotts are more likely to be successful and thus more likely to help democratic development when there is linkage and leverage with outside democratic actors.

The importance of a targeted boycott, in my opinion, cannot be understated. The theory described in this chapter relies upon power the boycott has as a signal to government. Signals can successfully lead to the achievement of a goal—say, for example, the adoption of a second official language within a country with a fierce ethnic divide—only if they are clearly stated and the goal is communicated effectively and efficiently. Boycotts can work to increase democracy by bringing attention to issues that the government may not be prioritizing; it is difficult to begin to prioritize an issue if one is uncertain about what the problem actually *is.* Boycotts that are undertaken with vague (or sometimes, no) goals are not likely to be successful in stimulating change from the government, increasing or maintaining confidence in democratic institutions, or contributing to good governance. The lack of clear, defined goals circumvents the effective use of the boycott as a signal by opposition parties (Satell and Popopic 2017). This, in turn, further muddies the waters in government-opposition relations, perhaps at the cost of democracy itself.

While there are no studies focusing on the effectiveness of targeted versus untargeted boycotts, the literature on framing, collective action, and its effectiveness can logically be extrapolated to guide expectations for this specific situation, especially since boycotts are a form of protest (Spary 2013). Framing is a key idea in the public opinion literature and has increasingly been brought into the protest literature; Chong and Druckman define framing as "the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue" (2007, 104). Frames are used by political parties, leaders, political groups, and the media in order to influence public opinion and make it more amenable to the

goals they pursue; for example, we often see political leaders use framing to connect favored policy goals with commonly held values, such as democratic ideals or religious beliefs (Chong and Druckman 2007).

In a review of framing processes and social movements, Bendford and Snow state that frames and the framing process are central to the understanding of social movements (2000). In an earlier article, they state that social movement actors have the power to create the meaning behind the movements and portray it to all those involved, whether they are supportive or antagonistic towards the movement (Snow and Benford 1998). As the initiating actors in a parliamentary of legislative boycott, opposition party leaders are able to set the frame for their boycott, with its persuasiveness linked to how effective the frame is—that is, how directly and logically linked the oppositions grievance and rationale is to the goal they are trying to achieve. Several years later, Polletta and Ho (2006) state that the literature on the effectiveness of frames in the context of political movements is still relatively underdeveloped, with little really understood about the subsequent outcomes of the movement itself; this is similar to the boycott literature. The effects of an absence of a viable frame is clear: McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly (2001) show reduced mobilization in such circumstances. On the other hand, effective frames signal a viable protest movement (Polletta and Ho 2006). A targeted boycott clearly states the nature of the grievance and the rationale for the boycott as the most effective response to the perceived injustice. Targeting, and the proper framing that makes it possible, allows the boycott to garner the support that may increase its effectiveness.

The second scope condition posits that boycotts are less likely to negatively affect democratic development when they are less frequent. According to Przeworski (1992), the "classical problem of any opposition" is the political decision of 1) the extent to which it should

oppose the government and, 2) the means by which it should practice this opposition (1992, 124). An effective opposition is one that has learned to balance its actions, otherwise it can threaten the development of democracy in the way listed above. If an opposition can strike an effective balance, however, and only occasionally chooses to vigorously oppose the government by initiating one of the two types of boycotts, there is no reason why the opposition's action should damage democratic development. On the other hand, according to Przeworski,

> *If every time a party loses an election or every time a government adopts an unpopular policy, the opposition launches a general strike, it may weaken democratic institutions and create conditions for the military to intervene.* (1992, 125)

While there are accounts of democratization that link frequency of events with better democratic outcomes, such as that by Lindberg (2006) on Africa, I have found no studies to-date on the effects of the frequency of boycotts on good governance outcomes, allowing me to make a unique contribution to the literature.

Ryan's (2011) case study of Jordanian politics clearly illustrates this issue. Ryan makes the case that the party system is weak in Jordan partially because of the opposition's choice to boycott elections in 1997, 2001, and 2003. By continuously removing itself from the electoral contest in response to electoral laws, the opposition does not have the voice in parliament to really bring about a change in those policies they consider unfair. As a country in transition, the removal of the opposition and the continued dominance of the loyalist and conservative elites means that Jordan continues to struggle to embrace democratic governance over autocratic culture. Albania is another country that faces the challenge of an opposition that frequently relies upon extra-parliamentary tactics when dealing with the government. Since becoming a democracy in 1991, Albania experienced 13 parliamentary boycotts in my dataset, averaging one

every two years[7]. As a result, experts refer to democratic progress in Albania as "stagnated", generally citing the intense polarization that leads to boycotts as the reason behind Albania's inability to improve its governance (Freedom House 2018). As boycotts have become par for the course, stalling democratic development and political progress, the country's Freedom House democracy score began to decrease and now hovers in the range of 4.10. The opposition's boycotts, often demanding electoral reform or changes in institutions, have worked to stall important policies when they reach the parliament floor; this includes judicial reform and anti-corruption measures.

Finally, I address the role international actors have upon the outcomes related to democratic development. Tilly and Tarrow's *Contentious Politics* serves as one of the authoritative accounts of the role that international actors play in regime transitions. Prolonged or acute conflict between government and opposition frequently catches the attention of the international community; this sometimes results in attempts at mediation or pressure upon the government to make concessions in the name of democratic rule. Baxter, for example, describes how foreign emissaries from Western states and the Commonwealth of Nations attempted to break the deadlock between Bangladesh's government and opposition parties following parliamentary boycotts in 1994 (1996, 185). The connection between this account and that of boycotts is well noted with regard to electoral boycotts, especially in the literature on election monitoring. Beaulieu (2006) notes that short-term reforms are more likely after a boycotted election, especially with the addition of international pressure upon the government. In her book, Beaulieu expands upon this, going as far as emphasizing the role of the "international midwife"

[7] Evidence shows that the Albanian opposition frequently relies on parliamentary boycotts as a signal of their discontent with elections and government policies, but that they have not embraced the tactic of electoral boycotts. This is likely due to a rejection of the high cost of an electoral boycott in favor of the much more manageable costs of a boycott of parliament.

in the development of democratic governance. She describes how international actors can put pressure on a government, through actions such as withholding aid from the country, which can cause the government to become more responsive to the more visible displays of opposition interest and goals. Frankel (2010) discusses how the threatening an electoral boycott can be an important opposition tactic for countries that have some geo-political significance. "Intense international attention on an election often entices the party in charge to make concessions that can end up being costly"—in other words, the threat of a boycott can draw international pressure, which may be key in encouraging the government to acquiesce to the opposition's demands (ibid, 3).

Evidence of Beaulieu's international midwife theory is especially high for new democracies in Eastern Europe. This is due to the influence of the European Union in the region, and the pressures for political change that they put upon countries that wish to join the organization. There are numerous examples of the European Union making statements condemning situations that have led to boycotts in candidate states and reinforce the need for change in order to ascend to member status. The case of the 2016 electoral boycott in Macedonia, which will be discussed more in-depth in the following chapter, is a prime example of this phenomenon. Following scandal-induced political turmoil in Macedonia, the EU was just one of several internationally-minded institutions to send mediators to the small Balkan state. As Macedonia is an EU candidate state, the IGO frequently mediated discussions between the government and opposition in the months leading up to the June 2016 election in an attempt to reach a compromise that would allow for a fully-contested, fair election (Marusic 2016).

While I would ideally be able to test each of these scope conditions in the large-N statistical analyses in Chapters 5 and 6, the character of the raw data do not allow for this

investigation to be carried out at this time. While the particulars of the Global News Archive articles will be discussed in Chapter 4, this source can be highly restrictive as to the type of information and details provided for legislative and electoral boycotts. Many of the accounts of boycotts that make up my dataset are constrained to a few sentences in global news overviews, especially when looking at less populous or geopolitically significant states. Therefore, any measures of these variables would be only partial measures; they would also be necessarily biased toward those boycotts significant enough to warrant prolonged international attention (for example, those that are mediated by other countries or IGOs). As a result, these scope conditions are only addressed extensively in the following chapter presenting my case studies.

This chapter began with a discussion of goals and tactics of opposition parties and moved on to an analysis of the literature revolving around two extra-parliamentary tactics of such parties: legislative and electoral boycotts. Despite the embrace of a Western-centric notion of which party tactics are ideal for democracy which overwhelmingly condemns the choice to boycott elections or the legislature, there is some support for the idea that boycotts could help democracy. This chapter has shown that the full story of the long-term effects of opposition boycotts is more nuanced than indicated in the majority of the literature. This position is supported by the case study analysis in the following chapter, which further highlights conditions under which boycotts can be seen to be harmful or helpful to the development of democratic norms.

Chapter 3: Exploring the Cases of Boycotts as Extra-Parliamentary Tactics: A Look at Ghana, Macedonia, and Bangladesh

Having laid out the motivating theory for this dissertation, I now turn to historical analysis to begin to address its plausibility. This chapter contains three case studies, each designed to represent one of three different possibilities regarding opposition parties and democratic governance outcomes. The first section looks the National Democratic Congress's (NDC) choice to undertake a parliamentary boycott in Ghana in 2001, chronicling its motivations, rationale for pursing this tactic, and the consequences of the boycott. The second section explores the decision of three opposition parties'—the Social Democrats (SD), the Democratic Union for Integration (DUI) and the Democratic Party of Albanians (DPA)--to boycott the 2016 legislative election in Macedonia and the fallout from that choice. The final section explores the consequences of extra-parliamentary tactics of opposition parties in new democracies when the three scope conditions identified in the theory chapter—targeted boycotts, low boycott frequency, and international attention—are not met. This is exemplified by Bangledeshi case.

Case study analysis is especially important in uncultivated theoretical terrain—little research has been done on electoral boycotts, and almost no research has been conducted on legislative boycotts. Boycotts are complicated phenomena that come from complicated processes. First, there must be a stronger-than-typical level of discontent between the opposition and the policies or practices of the government. Some level of contention between political parties is normal in the democratic process (Katz and Mair 1995; Lipset and Rokkan 1990; Strom 1990). From there, the opposition must believe that there are no institutional remedies for their concern, either because they have exhausted these options or because of the nature and the

effectiveness these options. Finally, the opposition must weigh the positive outcomes and negative consequences of the choice to boycott and remove itself from the legislative process or electoral competition. As discussed in Chapter 2, boycotts are incredibly costly signals. Opposition parties considering boycotts will have to determine if the message sent by abstention is more likely to result in their desired outcome than any other choice of action.

This chapter begins by discussing why case studies are an important methodological tool, especially considering the relatively little research that has been done in the area of study in this dissertation. From here, I discuss the process of my case study analysis, borrowing heavily from the instruction provided by George and Bennett (2005). In the following sections, I specify the research problem and the objective and use this specification to formulate my hypothesis and guide the selection of key variables[8]. Next, I discuss why each case was selected for analysis, as well as provide historical context for the state in question, a discussion of its institutional arrangements, and the background of the boycott to be analyzed. Then, after constructing a standard set of questions I provide a narrative of these answers through a comparative description of the variables.

The Case Study Method

As recently as the 1960s, the fields of comparative politics was dominated by the use of case studies and historical analysis as methodological tools—quantitative methods were in their infancy. As new methodological tools began to emerge, though, existing qualitative methods became more refined as researcher grew more concerned with scientific inquiry and its requirements—validity, reliability, and replicability. Still, despite these efforts, qualitative

[8] Some concepts are better addressed in the case study analysis than the quantitative analysis because they are not easily operationalized and quantified. As a result, the variables addressed here differ slightly from those addressed in Chapters 5 and 6.

research is often disparaged as unscientific, subjective, and lacking transparency. Barkin (2007), for example, states that qualitative methods do not provide a way through which researchers can interpret the larger significance of a research project.

What is a case study? Gerring describes it as an "intensive study of a single case where the purpose of that study is—at least in part—to shed light on a larger class of cases" (2007, 10). George and Bennet refer to case study approaches as "the method and logic of structured, focused comparison" (2005, 70). A case, of course, is a unit of observation taken at a specific moment in time. In this study, it is a parliamentary or electoral boycott within a single country during a specific period of time[9]. Case studies are helpful in the generation and development of theory because the researcher is able to look at the small details of the case in order to map out causal linkages. Here, I examine the cases of Ghana, Haiti, and Bangladesh in order to ascertain the plausibility of the theory laid out in the previous chapter.

Qualitative methodologists have channeled criticism from the quantitative front into a movement to emphasize important steps, approaches, and emphases in the various qualitative approaches. In this vein, these methodologists have written instructional pieces that illustrate how qualitative researchers need to work to meet standards as high as those in quantitative methodology. This study incorporates case studies as a key methodological tool and, in doing so, follows the guidance of Levy (2008) and George and Bennett (2005) in seeking the proper scientific implementation of the method.

This chapter relies mainly on Levy (2008) for guidance, as he describes four different case study designs and highlights how each pursues different purposes and implements different

[9] The cases within this chapter are all limited to a one year span, though in the population there are some boycotts that can last longer.

logics of inference. This is a step away from the way case studies were conducted historically, when cases could be selected merely because they were of particular interest or because of "intrinsic intent" or "historical importance" (ibid., 7). Levy's case study designs, however, keep in mind that the social scientist is no longer interested in mere description and single-case explanation but to confirm or reject hypotheses, determine causal mechanisms, and generate new hypotheses. These different goals lead to the different forms that case study designs can take.

Here, I eschew the more common comparable cases approach—based on John Stuart Mill's method of agreement—in favor of the crucial case design. This is an expansion on the most-likely and least-likely designs and is primarily used for testing and refining theory; as has been pointed out before, this is the primary goal of this chapter. The method gets its name because the cases are "crucial" due to their necessity in proving or refuting a theory. In this research design, the researcher selects cases that are expected to conform (or not conform) to the potential theories due to the presence (or absence) of necessary explanatory variables. If all variables are present but the outcome is not as is expected (or vice-versa), then the case refutes the proposed theory.

In *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, George and Bennett borrow from and build upon Lijphart (1971) and Eckstein (1975), identifying six theory-building research objectives in case study analysis: the atheoretical/configurative idiographic study, the disciplines configurative study, the heuristic study, the theory testing study, the plausibility probe, and the "building block" study (2005, 74-76). This chapter is built around three theory testing case studies, which are designed to "assess the validity and scope conditions of single or competing theories" (*ibid.*, 75).

In conducting the crucial case design, I follow the universal research design laid out by George and Bennett (2005). Their guidelines, applicable to all case study designs and approaches, bring the structured, focused comparison into case study research. The process of their method, simplified, is as follows. It requires the researcher to formulate a standard set of questions, which they then apply to all cases in the study. By asking the same questions of all cases, the researcher is able to systematically compare the answers to each question and then draw inferences based on how the responses vary in the data. This qualifies the case study to be an important tool for theory development, which is what I require from these case studies.

First, though, it's important to look a little more in-depth at George and Bennett's design, in order to lay out the process through which I will be conducting my case studies. The first phase of this design requires the researcher to determine the objective of their study and structure their approach so these objectives can be met. There are five adaptable steps in this phase: 1) specification of the research problem and research objective, 2) the formulation of hypothesis and selection of corresponding variables, 3) case selection, 4) an analysis of the variance present in the variables, and 5) the specification of relevant data and construction of the standard set of questions.

The second phase is where the researcher begins to study the selected cases following the research structure outlined in the first phase. In the third phase, the researcher assesses the findings produces in the second phase to determine whether they reach the research objective of the study: in other words, in a crucial case design, whether or not they can support the theory or if they, in fact, refute it.

Part 1: Case Study Specification

George and Bennett's first step is the specification of the research design and the research question. The latter, as stated before, is *In the development of democratic governance, does opposition use of extra-parliamentary tactics, particularly legislative and electoral boycotts, reduce the likelihood of good democratic outcomes?* This indicates the necessity of several stages of case study analysis. First, we must understand why specific oppositions choose to use legislative and electoral boycotts as tools in interaction with the government. Second, we have to see what effects the selection of this tool has on long-term outcomes. Therefore, I am not just looking at the boycott itself, but I need to go back in time to understand the circumstances in which the opposition came to the conclusion that this tactic was necessary to reach its goals. I also need trace the consequences of the boycott to ascertain what kind of effects, if any, this had upon the country's path of developing good democratic governance.

From here, I formulate the hypotheses and identify the variables that are key to understanding the path from opposition grievance to boycott to governance outcomes. Opposition formulation of tactics considering their goals are key to understanding intent, which links back to my theory's proposal that boycotts are costly signals oppositions feel they must resort to. Both the motivation and the outcomes must be consistent with my theory to understand if it is more applicable to the empirical evidence than the literature's commonly-held belief that extra-parliamentary tactics—and boycotts in particular—hurt democratic development.

Part 2: Formulation of Hypotheses and Key Variables

The theory that I put forward as an alternative to the widely-accepted hypothesis that extra-parliamentary tactics can harm the development of democracy is more easily testable in the qualitative sphere, though I will attempt to test it both qualitatively and quantitatively in this

dissertation. My theory proposes that the opposition party's choice to pursue extra-parliamentary tactics, particularly that of legislative or electoral boycotts, will not negatively affect democratic governance indicators in the long run, if one of three scope conditions is met. The negative effects of boycotts discussed in the literature will not persist in the long run if an opposition 1) hold the boycott with a targeted goal, 2) does not turn to the boycott option too frequently, and 3) draws the attention of the international community.

Where previous scholars argue that boycotts are detrimental to democracy because they hurt representation, I argue that boycotts can be used as a strong signal to the government wherein the opposition can actually increase its ability to represent its people and elicit government responsiveness, especially in states where institutions limit the actions of the opposition. The following hypotheses allow me to test the theory, which was described further in Chapter Two, in each of the three cases I selected.

H_1: *The political opposition party considers the selection of the boycott tactic because of demonstrated belief that other methods of working with the government have failed or will not be useful.*

H_2: *A boycott will be followed by a period in which the country's institutions become better equipped to facilitate the good governance qualities of rule of law, accountability, and low corruption.*

As mentioned in the introduction to this section, acceptance of this theory also depends on the reliability of the scope conditions, or those conditions under which boycotts will either fail to damage or actually help the development of democratic governance. As a result, one of the following statements must be met in order for the theory to be plausible, "successful" in each case referring to the boycott's impact on democratic governance.

H_3: *"Successful" boycotts occur in conjunction with the opposition party/parties' specification of clear and measurable goals of the results they intend to come from their boycott.*

H_4: *"Successful" boycotts occur when the opposition party/parties choose the boycott tactic only rarely.*

H_5: *"Successful" boycotts occur when the opposition party/parties' plight draws the attention of an international mediator that helps facilitate a meeting of the two parties and/or puts pressure on the government to end the boycott.*

Part 3: Case Selections and Backgrounds

Case Selection

I chose cases for analysis that covered both legislative and parliamentary boycotts, and that addressed the scope conditions hypothesized above. The African 2001 Ghanaian case was selected to represent legislative boycotts in this qualitative analysis. In 2001, the NDC—Ghana's former government party and now the main opposition party—held a boycott of parliament in response to the imprisonment of one of their members, Enoch Teye Mensah, by Ghana's Bureau of National Investigation (BNI). Mensah, the former Minister of Youth and Sports, was accused of playing a key role in the Nima riots that May, which the ruling New Patriotic Party (NPP) described as "politically motivated" and "executed mainly to hurt the NPP politically and also embarrass the government of President Kufour" (GNA 2001a). The NDC, on the other hand, saw this as the unlawful imprisonment of an opposition member by the majority. While parliamentary boycotts were common tools of the opposition in previous parliaments, the NPP had been going to great lengths to address the discontent of minority parties behind closed doors, in order to present a well-functioning parliamentary machine, and was largely successful until the NDC held their four-day boycott. The NDC specifically targeted their boycott to their accusation that the NPP was overstepping their legal authority as the majority party in imprisoning opposition politicians and continued to draw attention to their boycott by holding a sit-in outside the Parliament of Ghana. Their boycott put pressure on the majority because they were forced to delay the appointments of 35 ministerial positions because of a lack of quorum (GNA 2001b). This case provides evidence of the use of parliamentary boycotts as a strong signal when the

opposition feels that the government has overstepped its bounds, as well as the effects of a targeted boycott.

The European case of the 2016 election in Macedonia was chosen to represent electoral boycotts and determine their effects. The threat to boycott the 2016 election by all of Macedonia's opposition parties came after a wire-tapping scandal shook the Macedonian government in June 2015. While the wire-tapping incident itself provided a problem in Macedonian politics, tensions heightened when around fifty members of the governing VMRO-DPMNE party—including former Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski—were pardoned by President Gjorge Ivanov, spurring mass protests across the country. In reaction, the Social Democrats declared that they would boycott the June 5th elections. As the Albanian minority parties DUI and DPE joined the boycott, the list of grievances against the government grew. This boycott is particularly important because it also drew the attention of the international community, particularly that of the European Union and North Atlantic Treaty Organization, IGOs to which Macedonia hopes to gain membership (Sito-Sucic 2016). The Macedonian case draws attention to the considerations that go into the negotiations between the government and opposition leading up to a boycotted election, the effects of long lists of grievances (particularly those related to electoral integrity), and the impact of the third scope condition: international attention.

The Asian case of Bangladesh was selected for the final case study analysis because of its long history with of legislative and electoral boycotts. Its current government is dominated by the Awami League (AL) due to the opposition's choice to boycott the last elections. This boycott was led by the primary opposition parties: the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) and the Jamaat-e-Islami party (JI). The Awami League and the BNP have alternated control over government in the past, but extra-parliamentary tactics by the opposition are common no matter

which party is in opposition. Despite Bangladesh's status as an electoral democracy, experts are concerned that this frequent political turmoil is only hurting the development of democratic governance. The frequency of extra-parliamentary tactics in Bangladesh allows it to serve as a good test of my scope conditions, since it violates the second condition: that opposition must not choose to boycott elections or the legislature too frequently.

Ghana (2001)

Historical Background

Shortly after gaining independence in 1960, Ghana worked to manage a multiparty democracy led by Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party (CPP). The regime was quickly consumed by the push for modernization, the deportation and detention of individuals sympathetic to Western rule, discontent by the workers and farmers, increasing taxes, and political protest. As opposition to Nkrumah grew, so did the control he and the CPP held over the country, turning Ghana into a single-party government after a constitutional amendment in 1964. In response, members of the National Liberation Council (NLC) staged a military coup in February of 1966. The military and police established an eight-person council that held executive power and an assembly drafted a new constitution. In 1969, the first competitive national elections since 1956 were held with the Progress Party (PP) and National Alliance of Liberals (NAL) as the main contenders. This Second Republic only lasted until 1979, when Lt. Jerry Rawlings led a short-lived military coup wherein the government was controlled by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC).

The Third Republic began in 1979 with planned elections occurring despite the coup. The AFRC made it clear that they expected the new administration, headed by Hilla Limann and the People's National Party (PNP) to acquiesce to their influence. In 1981, Rawlings and his

companions in the AFRC led another coup, and the Third Republic fell in 1981. The president was dismissed, cabinet suspended, parliament dissolved, and political parties proscribed. Rawlings led through the Provisional National Defense Council, PNDC. Ghana returned to dictatorship.

International and domestic pressure on Rawlings's regime led to its end in 1992. Responding to pressure, the PNDC created a Consultative Assembly to draft a constitution and a national referendum approved this constitution in 1992. This effectively lifted the ban on party politics. The PNDC and its supporters formed a new political party, the National Democratic Congress (NDC), and competed in the November presidential election and the December parliamentary election. After Rawlings won the presidential election, the opposition largely boycotted the subsequent parliamentary elections, resulting in the NDC taking 183 of the 200 parliamentary seats. Rawlings won a second presidency in 1996 after contested elections, and the NDC won 133 of the parliamentary seats. The 2000 presidential election saw Rawlings's vice president, Atta-Mills, run against the New Patriotic Party's (NPP) John Kufuor. The NPP won the election in what was judged to be a free and fair election, leading to the peaceful alternation from an NDC-led government to one managed by the NPP.

Institutions

Ghana is a presidential republic with a unicameral legislative branch with 275 seats. Legislation must be approved by the Parliament, but the president has a veto over all bills. Members of parliament come from single-seat constituencies and win the seat if they win a plurality. Presidential and parliamentary elections are typically held on the same day every four

years and have been considered fair and free since 2000. Ghana is a two-party system; in 2001, the NPP was in control of the government and the NDC in opposition[10].

The Boycott

It began with a soccer game. On May 9, 2001, Ghana's two leading soccer team were playing in a match in the capital city's stadium. When one of the teams scored twice to take the lead 2-1 fans began to riot in the stadium, though most accounts say there was no interpersonal violence. The police were called and, in attempting to gain control over the unruly mob, threw cannisters of tear gas and shot rubber bullets into the crowd. A stampede ensued as fans tried to escape the corrosive effects of the gas and, as a result, 127 fans were crushed to death or suffocated inside the stadium (ChinaDaily 2013; Sakyi-Addo 2001a).

The Kufour administration called for three days of national mourning in response to the tragedy and sought to assure the populace that there would be an inquiry into the police actions that led to the deaths, establishing a commission to investigate. The police head in Accra launched an internal investigation into the accident, but it did little to assuage anti-police sentiment[11]. Mobs began to gather and attack police stations throughout the capital as public anger escalated. Three days after the tragedy, after a burial ceremony for 33 of the victims in the poor, primarily Muslim suburb of Nima, "hundreds of youths" attacked the police station (Sakyi-Addo 2001b). They spoke against the police, police brutality, and also called for a return to the NDC-led government.

Tensions between Kufour's new administration and Rawlings's previous administration were high, and the call for the return of the NDC's primacy during the Nima riots led to

[10] This remains true today.
[11] The results of the official inquiries, concluded in July 2001, states that "reckless behavior" by the police was the cause of the tragedy, and that the 70 police officers in the stadium would be prosecuted and punished.

increased interparty tension. Days later, the Minister of Presidential Affairs and the National Security Adviser stated that the government was investigating the possibility of "external influence" in the Nima riots (GNA 2001c). On May 16, 2001, it was declared that four people connected to the NDC would be charged in instigating the riots. This included an active NDC MP, Enoch Teye Mensah, who was jailed for two days by the Bureau of National Investigations (BNI). Mensah said that he was "detained in a mosquito infested cell, where he slept on a student mattress for two days and was questioned in connection with the riots" (GNA 2001d).

The NDC began a boycott in solidarity with Mensah on May 17 and carried it on for four days. At the time, the NDC held 92 seats. None of the MPs set foot in parliament, but instead "hovered' around the legislative chamber (GNA 2001b). They protested the actions of the government, saying that it had overstepped the laws surrounding the dignity and privileges of members of parliament in jailing an active member of the opposition for perceived crimes against the government.

Macedonia (2016)

Historical Background

Until 1991, Macedonia was part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and, unlike many other former Yugoslav states, its movement toward independence was relatively bloodless. Also like many other former Yugoslav states, the question of ethnic identity is particularly salient in both the social and political sphere. About 60% of the population are ethnic Macedonians; the next largest group are Albanians, at about 25%. These two groups dominate politics within the country, though there are also relatively large Turkish, Romani, and Serbian populations (though they are all under 5%) (CIA 2018).

While the Macedonian government likes to trace its history back to antiquity and through domination by empires such as the Persians, Romans, and Ottomans, Macedonia did not experience sovereignty until after its time as a Yugoslav republic. The Socialist Republic of Macedonia was one of six ethnofederal republics in Yugoslavia; the others were Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia. These divisions reflected divisive politics: religion and ethnicity separated the people of Yugoslavia. As a member of Yugoslavia at the time, the SR Macedonia experienced a relatively more peaceful existence than most of the rest of the country, largely due to the predominantly Macedonian population.[12]

For most of its postwar history, Yugoslavia maintained the dictatorial rule of Josip Broz Tito though as a non-aligned communist state that experimented with political and economic liberalization before liberalization movements (particularly *glasnost* and *perestroika*) began in other parts of the Communist Bloc. A particularly important change in this vein occurred after the Croatian Spring in 1971—though the protests were initially violently put down by Tito, the dictators acquiesced to some of the Croatian demands. This was largely in hopes of ameliorating ethnic conflict in the future; Tito allowed for the increase in federal powers, giving the republics more autonomy. After Tito's death in 1980, Yugoslavia adopted a collective presidency drawn from the leadership of each of the republics.

This did not last long; the expectations of partial autonomy became that of full autonomy, which also helped to increase ethnic tensions, particularly between the Serbs, Croats and Bosnians. This was increased by growing economic problems, including a large deficit, unemployment, and increasing foreign debt. The country began to move from a controlled

[12] Ethnic conflict in Macedonia still exists, with large instances of ethnic violence between the Macedonian and Albanian factions in 2001 and 2012.

economy toward market economy, using the policy of shock therapy. The country began to dissolve in the early 1990s.

Macedonia initiated a referendum on independence from Yugoslavia in September 1991 and maintained peace during the wars in neighboring republics that accompanied the split of the country. However, ethnic disputes began to grow considerably following the war in Kosovo, which brought many Albanian refugees into Macedonia. Conflict between the majority Macedonians and the increasing Albanian population increased as the Macedonians felt themselves threatened by the increase in Albanian voices and the Albanians considered themselves underrepresented in the Macedonian state.

Institutions

Macedonia is a parliamentary republic led by the Prime Minister. It has a popularly elected President, and it is the President's role to appoint the Prime Minister. Of course, there are accepted rules to this practice: the Prime Minister must be a leader of the party with the largest representation in parliament. The parliament, or Sobranie, is a unicameral body which ranges between 120 and 140 representatives. These representatives are elected for four-year periods. Currently, six districts elect twenty representatives. Occasionally, if turnout is high enough, the Macedonian diaspora can elect up to three representatives. The 2016 elections brought six parties into parliament (VMRO, the Social Democrats, DUI, DPA, Besa Movement (BESA) and Alliance for Albanians (AA)). As of the elections in 2016, majority is currently held by the Social Democrats and the smaller parties, with the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian Unity (VMRO-DPMNE) in opposition. At the time of the electoral boycott decision chronicled here, the VMRO-DPMNE was the government party.

The Boycott

In June 2015, news broke that the VMRO-DPMNE-led government had been illegally wire-tapping thousands of Macedonians. The scandal went all the way to the top: then-Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski was implicated. Over the next year, the VMRO-DPMNE leadership obstructed the ability of special prosecutors to investigate the alleged crimes. For example, the former Minister of the Interior subsequently faced additional charges for the crime of destroying the wire-tapping equipment. Gruevski resigned, one of his closest allies became Prime Minister and he was widely believed to still retain the primary influence over Macedonian politics. Gruevski's departure was meant to set the stage for new parliamentary elections that April; under advisement from the European Union and the United States that elections under these circumstances could lead to political upheaval due to the high tensions resulting from the VMRO-DPMNE dragging its feet on promised reforms, the elections was postponed until June (Euractiv 2016; Marusic 2017). Contributing to this decision was the declaration of the SDSM's intent to boycott the elections if they went forward as planned on April 24th.

Political scandal became political crisis, however, in May of 2016, when President Gjorge Ivanov pardoned 56 politicians involved in the wire-tapping, including Gruevski. Popularly, this choice was seen as a move by the party to undermine the special prosecution and prevent the proper progression of the rule of law. Rallies began, and the earliest were so heated that there was violent conflict between citizens and police. Prompted by the pardons, the SDSM declared its intention to boycott the elections that had been postponed to June 5th (Marusic 2016). Following the Social Democrats' calls for a "free and fair" election, the Albanian minority parties DPA and the DUI declared their intentions to also boycott the June 5th elections (Elgood 2016). The complaints of the opposition expanded along with the expansion of the boycott: the

parties declared their intent to boycott the election until their grievances were addressed, including that of an inaccurate electoral role, the unfair media coverage of campaigns, and the ruling party's propensity for putting its members at the head of apolitical government bodies (Elgood 2016; Marusic 2016). The EU, which had been playing a key role in mediating within Macedonian politics, and NATO began to put pressure on the government to postpone elections again.

Bangladesh (1996-present)

Historical Background

Early politics in modern Bangladesh was defined by presidential regimes broken up by military coups. The 1975 coup leaders were overthrown by a counter-coup, and the presidency passed from Ahmad to Sayem to Ziaur Rahman (popularly known as Zia), often in the wake of violence. Zia's presidency brought rapid industrialization and economic growth, until it also ended in his assassination during a military coup. His successor, Sattar, was also deposed by the military.

In 1983, Ershad became president and Bangladesh was under martial law. His regime was also marked by the privatization of much of the country's industry, the ban of trade unions, and heavy international debt. By the late 80s, Ershad could no longer maintain his tight grip on power and a caretaker government was established in 1990 with the aim to restore parliamentarism in Bangladesh. Free and fair elections followed in 1991, with the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) forming the government. These elections established the reputation of many of the contemporarily influential parties in Bangladesh today: the AL, the Jamaat-I-Islami (JI), and former president Ershad's Jatiya Party (JP).

Bangladesh's long history of boycotts under this constitution, both parliamentary and electoral, began in March 1994. The opposition accused the BNP of stealing a parliamentary by-election and boycotted parliament in response. That December, the entire opposition resigned in effort to force the government to change and began direct engagement in extra-parliamentary opposition activities such as demonstrations, protests, and strikes. The three main opposition parties continued these methods through the national elections in 1996, which they all boycotted. The BNP overwhelmingly won re-election, but political tension was palpable enough that they allowed a caretaker government to take over and begin preparations for another parliamentary election only a month later. These elections resulted in the Awami League gaining power. Three parties—the AL, the BNP and the JP—maintained control of most of the seats.

The previous administration had set a precedent, however, and it wasn't long before the new opposition held their first parliamentary boycott in 1996, accusing the AL of harassing and jailing opposition activists. Another followed in 1997, as the opposition alleged that the AL never adapted the policies they had promised to use to solve the problems that led to the boycott in 1996. The BNP led the opposition in another parliamentary boycott in 1999, and then boycotted all elections after deeming them unfair. These boycotts and international pressure, particularly from the US, led the AL government to step down and allow for free, fair, and monitored elections in 2001. This election saw the rise of the BNP and their coalition partners, including the JI., but the change in power did nothing to quell the frequency of boycotts by the opposition.

Institutions

Although Bangladesh has experienced many different types of government, it is now a parliamentary democracy. The parliament, the Sangsad, has 350 seats. There is a quota of fifty

seats reserved for women in the Sangsad. Legislative elections occur every five years. As Bangladesh has traditionally had a president, and the new republic has kept the position, though as a largely ceremonial position selected by the members of the Sangsad. The president appoints the Prime Minister, and the appointment is confirmed by vote by the MPs.

The Boycott(s)

Oppositions in Bangladesh have a long history of practicing boycotts, both electoral and legislative. For example, Transparency International Bangladesh counted the number of working days boycotted by the main opposition in the ninth parliament (2009-2013) at 342/418—nearly 82% of the time (TIB 2018)[13]. For the sake of my analysis, while I am considering the history of Bangladesh's tendency toward boycotts, I will focus on one specific boycott in my analysis. I selected the February 15, 1996 parliamentary elections, which is considered by area scholars to be one of the most influential events in the history of modern Bangladesh (Baxter 1996). This election was the first to occur under the new parliamentary democracy established following the downfall of the Ershad regime.

It began when the Bangladeshi government needed to hold by-elections; however, the opposition was already threatening to abstain from the election, so the president dissolved parliament in order to hold general elections. While the hope was that this would end the electoral impasse, the action actually resulted in the oppositions digging in deeper. The Awami League-led opposition demanded the prime minister's resignation and the establishment of a caretaker government in the lead-up to the elections, alleging that there could not be a fair election under the management of the BNP. When the government refused, the opposition led general strikes demanding for the resignation; these were ignored. International mediators

[13] As a result, the NGO currently recommends that the parliament enact a new law banning legislative boycotts. Unsurprisingly, this has gained no traction.

attempted to bring both parties to the table, but ultimately failed (Baxter 1996; Inter-Parliamentary Union 1996). Ultimately, the elections were held as planned, with the BNP winning all of the parliamentary seats due to the opposition's refusal to field candidates.

Part 4: Analysis of Variance

Before delving into the standard set of questions to determine what caused the difference in outcomes of the dependent variables, we must first understand some of the expressed differences between cases related to the standard dependent and primary independent variables. Each of the selected cases are positive for the key independent variable—the boycott. The first case, Ghana, experienced a parliamentary boycott. The second case, Macedonia, experienced an electoral boycott. Finally, while Bangladesh has experienced many parliamentary and electoral boycotts, my analysis primarily focuses on the first electoral boycott following the establishment of the parliamentary form of government.

Figure 3.1

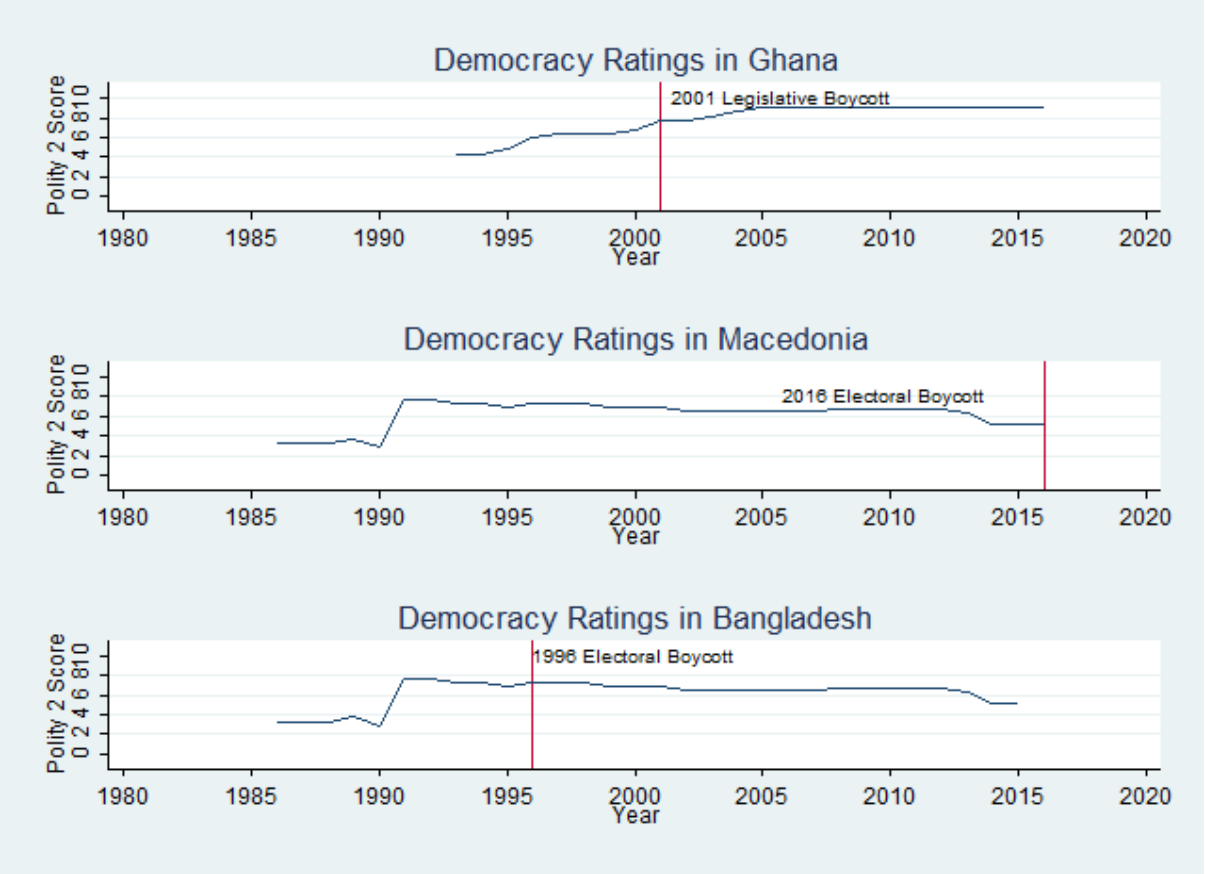


Figure 3.1 provides a snapshot of each of the case country's histories of democracy ratings, expressed as the Polity2 measures. As indicated, the vertical lines mark the point in time of the boycott to be analyzed. These graphs provide a quick reference that provides some insight into what sort of outcomes we can expect from the following analysis—with the exception of the Macedonian boycott, which occurred too recently for post-boycott democracy data to be available.[14] In the case of Ghana, the measure of democracy following the boycott is increasing; in the case of Bangladesh, the measure of democracy is decreasing. What implications does this have on the effects of boycotts themselves? How can we expect these boycotts to affect

[14] It might be noted that Polity scores did not vary after some earlier boycott threats. Given the Freedom House trend line, there is a slight deterioration in some measures, the timing of which suggests that the wiretap scandal and pardons were the issue.

governance? To answer these questions, and test our hypotheses, we must look to a standard set of questions through which we can compare and test each of the three cases.

Part 5: A Standard Set of Questions

In order to find out how my theory applies to all three of these cases and move it closer toward plausibility, I must test each of the cases in the same way. To do this, I generated a standard set of questions for each case. By answering each question with one of the three cases, I can code the answers in similar ways and thus standardize how the cases are compared.

1) What power to make policy or veto powers does the opposition have within the legislature?
2) What is/are the sources of discontent between the opposition and the government party?
3) What rationale does the opposition give as to why they have chosen to pursue the boycott option?
4) Is the opposition's rationale clearly stated in interviews and news articles?
5) Did the opposition choose legislative or electoral boycott? What rationale is given for this choice?
6) How many boycotts has the country experienced in the last ten years?
7) Have members of the international community made any statements regarding the boycott? If so, a) are these statements in support of the government or the opposition and b) what is the nature of these statements?

The following section discusses some of the answers to these questions with a historical analysis of each of the three cases. This analysis will briefly discuss some of the institutional limitations faced by opposition parties, when and why the party/parties chose to boycott, the response to this boycott, and the effects of the boycott. The final section in this chapter reports the conclusions from this analysis.

Analysis

Institutions, Grievances, and the Choice to Boycott

In Part 3 of this chapter, I provided a basic description of each country's legislative bodies, focusing on their composition and leadership. These institutions are important beyond just these bare facts, however: as discussed in Chapter 2, the rules of the legislative institutions

determine if and how much influence the opposition party has in politics. An opposition that is unable to influence policy and politics through institutions, will be more likely to choose to employ extra-parliamentary tactics.

How much influence do the opposition parties in Ghana, Macedonia, and Bangladesh have on the creation, specification, and adoption of legislation? *De jure*, every MP is able to propose legislation in any of these countries, though in Ghana and Bangladesh potential policy must come out of a ministry. In Macedonia, all members of the assembly, government, or groups of 10,000 voters can propose the adoption of a law. Each of these countries follows the standard practice of legislation modeled after the British Parliament, where potential law must pass through phases such as the First and Second Readings, community inquiries, and investigations. In Macedonia and Bangladesh, a majority vote in the legislature sends the bill to the executive for ratification. In Ghana, a two-thirds vote is required for a bill to go to the President for assent.

As written, these lawmaking policies seem to allow minority parties to create policy or, at least, influence the development of bills and whether or not they will become law. It is necessary, however, to look beyond the rules as written and to the way that these rules work in practice. For example, while any MP may be able to propose legislation in these three states, the requirement that legislation go through ministries or committees effectively works to restrict the influence of the opposition. Ministries are almost always chaired by members of the government party or coalition; the majority party, naturally, usually makes up the majority of each of these committees, as well. As a result, the expectation that minority-authored or supported legislation will get through these committees to the legislative body as a whole is often low. Bangladesh also offers an extreme case; the legislature in the country is notoriously weak. Moniruzziman describes the weak legislation process by stating that “ruling parties deliberately bypass

parliament, while the opposition deserts it" (2009, 100). In practice, the Bangladeshi majority typically makes laws through promulgation, or the formal proclamation that a policy has become a law (Moniruzziman 2009; Murphy 2006). As a result of the Bangladeshi opposition's propensity for legislative boycott and the majority's reliance on promulgation, the minority actually has little to no influence upon the development of policy.

Therefore, the opposition in these states face at least a moderate challenge in influencing government and policy within their institutional framework, creating a setting through which we can expect the opposition's grievances to more naturally lead to extra-parliamentary tactics rather than attempts to create policy or push the government to take certain actions through institutional paths. When deciding whether or not to pursue extra-parliamentary tactics, parties need to decide if the sources of their discontent can be addressed satisfactorily through institutional means, as well as whether or not the rationale for a boycott makes sense considering the outcomes they are pursuing.

In the three cases discussed above, the oppositions in Ghana, Macedonia, and Bangladesh chose to pursue extra-parliamentary tactics to seek remedies for their grievances. In the Ghanaian case, the opposition believed that the government had violated the protections afforded to members of parliament by jailing an opposition MP in connection to a political protest (GNA 2001a; 2001b). In Macedonia, the opposition made the choice to boycott the election because of allegations of corruption within the ranks of the government party and the belief that this would render the upcoming elections unfree and unfair (Elgood 2016; Marusic 2016). In Bangladesh, the opposition chose to boycott because they also believed that their upcoming election was set to be inherently unfair, and that participation would be akin to validating a sham election. Each of these primary grievances highlights a point of contention between the government and the

opposition—in the cases of Macedonia and Bangladesh, allegations of corruption or unfairness stemming from the government party are some of the most frequent reasons why parties choose to participate in boycotts, and to pursue electoral boycotts, more specifically (Beaulieu 2006).

The scope conditions set in Chapter 2 for beneficial boycotts specify that targeted boycotts would be more likely to have neutral or beneficial effects on the long-term development of democracy. This is because a targeted boycott is more easily addressed in negotiations between the government or opposition, or more easily remedied after the boycott has passed. How targeted were the three boycotts addressed in this study? The legislative boycott in Ghana was sparked by a specific incidence of the government partaking in the "capricious use of Executive power", according to Alban Bagbin, the minority leader (GNA 2001b). This was, specifically, the alleged violation of Parliamentary immunity in the arrest and imprisonment of NDC MP Enoch Teye Mensah. The opposition began its strike after both Mensah's imprisonment and arrest, in order to show solidarity with the MP and to express its disapproval over the arrest to the government. The opposition boycotted parliament after Mensah was released on bail, symbolically boycotting for the number of days that Mensah had been detained (GhanaWeb 2001b). Accounts of the 2001 parliamentary boycott show a specific target of the boycott, which was the opportunity for the opposition to express its discontent with the government's choice to imprison Mensah, and to show that this type of action by the government would not be tolerated.

While the Ghanaian boycott was specifically targeted as a respond to a singular event, the same cannot be said for the Macedonian or Bangladeshi boycotts, despite the opposition's allusion to concerns relating to the electoral process (Baker 1996a; Dimishkovski 2017; Euractiv 2016, Nicholson 1996a; Nicholson 1996b). The Macedonian boycott, for example, stemmed

from discontent with the ruling VMRO-DPMNE party following a disputed election and a wire-tapping scandal. The Macedonian opposition party, SDSM, declared its intention to boycott the parliamentary election through general allusions to the electoral contest as unfair and unfree. Accounts of SDSM leaders defending the choice to instigate a boycott are loaded with buzzwords, such as SDSM official Sugareski's declaration that "SDSM will continue to fight to create fair and democratic conditions for having elections with all the democratic means that we have" (Euractiv 2016). As the boycott movement progressed and the scheduled elections grew closer, the rationale for the boycott also adapted, partially due to the boycott's expansion to include ethnic Albanian parties. It is likely that this is also due to the need to solidify some demands as the election grew nearer and as pressure mounted for the government and the opposition to reach an agreement. The SDSM and ethnic Albanian parties combined called for the electoral rolls to be brought up to date, freer media, and the removal of party officials from non-partisan government bodies (Casule 2016). While the demands of the opposition became more specified, the boycott was still not especially targeted; the opposition provided examples of conditions that would be necessary for free and fair elections, but not sufficient.

In Bangladesh the opposition, led by the Awami League, had been boycotting Parliament for nearly two years before the 1996 parliamentary boycott. In the months leading up to the election, AL leader Sheik Hasina had demanded that a caretaker government be put in place before the election, alluding to the 1991 elections, which took take under a caretaker and was considered one of the fairest in Bangladesh history (Burns 1996). The issue of the caretaker government was the primary and therefore clearest demand of the opposition; however, as the election drew closer the opposition added other grievances to their list—they spoke of blatant and widespread corruption and unfair electoral institutions (Baker 1996a)

In preparing for each of these boycotts, the opposition took care to frame the choice to boycott as a necessary choice, pursued either because the government was unresponsive or because there were no institutional remedies available to them. This is a common chorus from opposition parties pursuing extra-parliamentary tactics, and some instances have stronger claim to this rationale than others. For example, in the cases of Macedonia and Bangladesh, to take part in elections of questionable quality is to tacitly approve these elections. It is often argued that truly unfair elections should be boycotted to bring about change, as Beaulieu notes in her accounts of electoral boycotts (2006). Taking part in unfair elections only reinforced the system and continues the unfair balance between the party in charge and those in the minority. Unfair elections would work to cement the government party's place and could further exclude the opposition from eliciting policy change.

Of course, it is plausible—if unlikely—that opposition parties faced with election-based grievances could coordinate enough pressure on the government to make changes through the legislative or judicial institutions. Before the February 1996 elections in Bangladesh, however, the government refused to acquiesce to the opposition's request for a caretaker government to oversee the elections; the Macedonian government, on the other hand, was involved in EU-led talks with the opposition party, which were ultimately unsuccessful in reaching a compromise between the government and the opposition's demand. In Ghana, on the other hand, the government took pains to declare in the media that there were methods through which the opposition could gain restitution for their grievance in Parliament, and that the choice to boycott was neither an effective path toward a solution nor a responsible political choice. Majority leadership stated that, in fact. Parliament "is the relevant forum where issues could be discussed and amicable solutions found" (GNA 2001b).

It was under these conditions that the Ghanaian opposition decide to undertake a parliamentary boycott, and the Macedonian and Bangladeshi oppositions chose to boycott their upcoming elections. Both the Macedonian and Bangladeshi electoral boycotts followed parliamentary boycotts stemming from protests over the previous election results, supporting the postulation in Chapter 2 that electoral boycotts may be escalations of parliamentary boycotts. These election boycotts were thus undertaken because previous attempts at mediation regarding the quality of electoral contest in these countries were unsuccessful. In Ghana, on the other hand, the parliamentary boycott was undertaken partially because of the development of the parliamentary boycott as a historically acceptable tool for the expression of discontent in Ghanaian politics. Additionally, as a grievance unrelated to electoral competition and one that was more limited in scope, the parliamentary boycott was a good signal of the minority's opinion of the government's actions.

This section sought to describe in more detail the beginnings of the boycotts in Ghana, Macedonia, and Bangladesh. I compared the institutional restraints opposition parties faced in finding relief for their grievances, their specific grievances and how they were expressed to the public, any development of these grievances, and the type of extra-parliamentary tactic the opposition parties chose to employ. The following section focuses on the part of my standard set of questions that investigates the differences between how the boycotts were run, the responses to them, and their effects.

A Boycott and its Outcomes

Once the opposition makes the decision to boycott it must then support the boycott in the public sphere, winning the support of civil society. As a form of protest, a successful boycott

needs support beyond just that of the politicians within the party or coalition[15]. An ineffective boycott does little to garner concessions from the government because it shows a lack of support from the population; if the people do not join in the boycott, then the government would likely assume that the people must not share the goals of the opposition. Public opinion is also important in a parliamentary boycott, but to a lesser extent. Parliamentary boycotts are likely to be undermined and ineffective if the party's voters are likewise unsupportive of their initiative, but the extent of public support is more difficult to measure than in electoral boycotts (Spary 2013)[16].

This is evident in attempts to ascertain the public's reaction to the choice to boycott. Press coverage of the boycott in Ghana contained statements by the opposition and the government, but there was no information on how the public reacted to the choice to boycott. The nearest we can get to understanding the public reaction is the discussion of how parliamentary boycotts are common tools of opposition protest and, therefore, if not accepted then at least tolerated by the people. On the other hand, with boycotts that have already occurred, it is easier to see the extent of the public's support, even when those articles chronicling the boycotts do not allude to it; simple statistics, such as voter turnout, can provide evidence of voter support for the boycott. In terms of the Macedonian election, the election was eventually postponed because of the potential effects of the boycotts on turnout and the challenges this would provide to the legitimacy of the election's winners. The election in Bangladesh proceeded despite the dispute between the minority and the majority, and voter turnout was severely

[15] This is also very important, however; boycotts that are not adhered to within the party itself or tied to infighting within the party are not likely to be effective demonstrations of demand for change.
[16] Spary's theory on the usefulness of legislative boycotts largely relies upon the work of "difference democrats" such as Iris Marion Young, who tout the role of public demonstration in pushing through party deliberation and negotiations.

affected by the opposition's boycott.[17] While this is not an explicit signal of the populations support for the opposition's demands for a caretaker government and a move toward fairer elections, it is highly suggestive of support.

Finally, it is time to address the outcomes of these cases in both the short and the long run. In Ghana, the opposition declared their boycott to be a success immediately following its end, though accounts of the boycott do not specify *why* it should be considered as such. The immediate crisis, Mensah's detainment, had been settled before the boycott began. There were no statements by the government to indicate that they had made concessions to the opposition to further secure the rights of parliamentarians after the boycott, nor is there evidence of attempts made to reach agreements that would work to quell allegations of corruption. There are a few points where the opposition could argue that their boycott inconvenienced the government enough for them to consider the potential ramifications of unfair actions in the future, primarily the fact that the boycott prevented a quorum for key votes, including the approval of ministerial appointments (GNA 2001b). In the long-run, the Freedom House reports for the years following the boycott has indicated continued development and perseverance of democracy, with Ghana consistently being ranked as "Free" since the 2002 report (Freedom House 2002; 2008; 2018b).

In Macedonia, the oppositions' boycott combined with the responses from the European Union so limited the prospects of the upcoming election that the Macedonian government chose to postpone the elections until the opposition and the government were able to come to an agreement (Marusic 2016). In a joint statement on the matter, the vice-president of the European Commission and the EU's Enlargement Commissioner spoke out against the VMRO-DPMNE's initial plans to go through with the election, saying that it was "something that the EU cannot

[17] The 1991 election saw voter turnout at about 55%; this election saw a decrease of over 50% to a 21% voter turnout.

support and stand behind…which means that all preparations for elections on June 5 now have to stop." The EU also stated that it would not recognize the results of the election if the VMRO-DPMNE was the only party taking part in the contest; this would be a significant blow for Macedonia's hopes to join the EU (*ibid.*)

Since the 2016 election boycott was fairly recent, long-term effects of the boycott are not yet known. The elections were re-scheduled for December of 2016 and although the VMRO-DPMNE won the plurality of the seats in Parliament but with a ten seat loss from the previous election they were unable to gather a majority and could not find any coalition partners to help form a government. The political turmoil that had begun after the wiretapping scandal broke had escalated to the point that it was referred to as the "Colorful Revolution," and the SMSD was able to use this situation to its political advantage and form a new government. Zoran Zaev, the new prime minister, laid out a list of reforms that headed the SMSD's goals for its governing term. This list reflected many of the demands that the SMSD and its boycott allies had championed before the canceled June 1996 election: control over corruption, an independent judiciary, freer media, and a stronger, more democratic Parliament (Dimishkovski 2017). Therefore, while there have been some small improvements in Freedom House's perceptions of democracy in Macedonia, it is still too evaluate the impact of the boycott. Violence from VMRO-DPMNE supporter grew after the election, and the establishment of Zaev's government, in coalition with Albanian parties, required mediation from the US State Department (Freedom House 2018a). It is evident, though, that it was at least a short-term success. The boycott played a role in ending the Gruevski era and the VMRO-DPMNE's government, one that many in the international community had feared was taking an authoritarian turn, and in setting Macedonia back on the promising path toward democracy (Dimishkovski 2017). Freedom House's

assessment of democratic governance in Macedonia since the election can be best described as "cautiously optimistic" (Freedom House 2017; 2018a).

As in the Macedonian case, the period of time leading up to the boycott and election in Bangladesh were fraught with tension and political violence; in the week leading up to the election twelve people had been killed and more than 200 injured in protests ("A World Scene" 1996; Nicholson 1996a; Reuters 1996). The rhetoric between party leaders, particularly Zia of the BNP and Hasina of the Awami League, worked to stoke these fires. Prime Minister Zia referred to opposition politicians as "terrorists, killers of democracy and conspirators" and threatened to "purge" the opposition parties after the election, which would be uncontested. Hasina countered by stating that the elections had to be stopped "at all costs," encouraging the continuation of violence through polling (Baker 1996a). Elections were postponed twice before they took place in June 1996; the government attempted to satisfy the opposition by having Prime Minister Zia resign and President Biswas supervise the election. This was not an acceptable compromise for the opposition, since it meant that the election would still be run by the BNP (Dyer 1996). Days before the February elections, Prime Minister Zia called for negotiations between the parties to be re-opened after the general election in order to pave the way for a fully-contested vote at a later date. Zia claimed that while she was "constitutionally mandated" to hold the February polls she, apparently, recognized that uncontested elections would not result in a credible mandate (Baker 1996a; Burns 1996; Nicholson 1996b). The BNP-led government later acquiesced to the oppositions' greatest demand, enacting a constitutional amendment requiring the creation of a caretaker government before each parliamentary election,

including the new elections scheduled for June (Freedom House 1999)[18]. Fully contested, these elections saw the Awami League victorious in the polls and able to form a new government.

Governance under the Awami League turned out to be more of the same—despite a relatively successful turnover process, governance in Bangladesh fell into the same routines. The BNP quickly turned to boycotting parliament as its primary opposition tactic, and the Awami League worked to solidify its hold over power. Freedom House has consistently ranked Bangladesh as "Partly Free" since its earliest reports, referencing political violence, corruption, deterioration of the rule of law, and a lack of parliamentary dialogue as some of the greatest challenges facing the development of good governance in Bangladesh (Freedom House 1999; 2005; 2010; 2015; 2018c).

[18] The results of the February election were questionable not only because of the opposition's boycott, but also that early reports stated that less than 3% of the eligible voters in Bangladesh turned out on election day (Baker 1996b). This was later changes to 21%.

Conclusions

Table 3.1: A Summary of the Cases			
	Ghana	**Macedonia**	**Bangladesh**
Does the opposition have influence in the policy-making process?	Moderately	Yes	No
Does the source of discontent suggest a targeted boycott?	Yes	Moderately	Moderately
Do newspaper articles document a clear rationale for the boycott?	Yes	Yes	Yes
Is the rationale presented narrowly enough to indicate a targeted boycott?	Yes	No	No
Did the opposition hold a legislative or electoral boycott?	Legislative	Both	Both
How many boycotts has the country experienced in the ten years leading up to, but not including, this boycott?	Electoral: 0 Legislative: 0	Electoral: 1 Legislative: 9	Electoral: 3 Legislative: 1
Have members of the international community attempted to influence the outcomes of the boycott through statements or mediation?	No	Yes	No
Freedom House Assessment	Increases in democratic governance	Small improvements, particularly in the area of political rights	Both increases and decreases in democratic governance

Table 3.1 provides a quick reference of the answers to each of the seven questions in the standard set listed in Part 5 of this chapter. Overall, we can see possible support for the postulation that boycotts do not always correlate with poor governance through the differences in outcomes in the three cases. We can also see some support for the scope conditions discussed in

chapter two. Ghana experienced a targeted boycott and, under the relatively young regime in 2001, had experienced few boycotts[19]. On the other hand, Bangladesh and Macedonia have experienced more boycotts: in the ten years leading up to these cases, Macedonia mostly experienced parliamentary boycotts while Bangladesh had relatively frequent boycotts of each type. These cases mostly suffered from weakly targeted boycotts: the opposition parties bemoaned the quality of elections and government corruption while demanding a long list of changes. Only the Macedonian case had significant response from the international community, likely because of Macedonia's push for acceptance into the EU and NATO (Sito-Sucic 2016).

The cases addressed above show that the rationale I proposed in Chapter 2, an attempt to refute the allegations that boycotts are bad for democracy, is plausible given the evidence presented from the 2001 boycott in Ghana, the 2016 boycott in Macedonia, and the 1996 boycott in Bangladesh. Government policy concessions, alternations, and analysis by Freedom House all show that boycotts can have positive effects, or that there may be no long-term repercussions from boycotts. The next chapter discusses my creation of data on legislative and electoral boycotts and the development of the data set I use to test the relationship between these extra-parliamentary tactics and democratic governance. Following this, Chapters Five and Six chronicle my quantitative analysis of this relationship through fixed-effects panel data analysis, in an attempt to discern how universal the (lack of) correlation between boycotts and damage to democratic governance suggested by my qualitative analysis may be.

[19] Though it is important to remember that boycotts were historically considered a legitimate opposition tactics, even if they had become rare events.

Chapter 4: Constructing Data on Parliamentary and Electoral Boycotts: A Commentary on Media-based Event Data

Having outlined my intended course of research, specified my theory, and supported it using case studies, I now turn to the large-N statistical analysis of the relationship between legislative and electoral boycotts and the development of good democratic governance. As discussed in my theory chapter, there is very little statistical analysis of the effects of boycotts upon democracy. Most studies of the relationship between the two phenomena employ case studies, and the few that use statistical tests focus only on the short-term effects of electoral boycotts. The only exception to that is Beaulieu (2006), who focuses on electoral boycotts but extends the analysis of their effects to the long-run.

As a result, I have constructed the first dataset on legislative boycotts from global news sources. My data on electoral boycotts also uses the same sources, though it is not a unique dataset as others (for example, Beaulieu 2006; 2014) have created data on these types of boycotts. I rely on this data to check the validity of the data that I produce. The following chapter begins by describing my data generation process, focusing on my work with the Cline Center for Advanced Social Research and the use of event data from their Global News Archive to construct measures of legislative and electoral boycotts. I then describe the selection of and rationale behind my explanatory variables and provide a recap of the nature of my universe of cases. Then, I discuss the control variables I use and why they were selected, and then briefly describe the sources from which I gathered them. I provide another brief reminder of the design of my statistical analysis, and then turn to the investigation of my data, highlighting the descriptive statistics for both the legislative electoral boycott data and analyzing the data using several different methods.

Data Generation

To date, no comprehensive dataset on legislative boycotts has been produced—though there are a few datasets on electoral boycotts (Beaulieu 2006; 2014). In order to answer my research questions, I had to first create a dataset that would capture both legislative and electoral boycotts, constructing each of these measures from similar data sources. Additionally, I had to extend the years observed in previous datasets, Beaulieu's in specific. As has been discussed in earlier chapters of this dissertation, legislative and electoral boycotts fall into the category of protests; because of this, the data I produced is protest event data. Event data is data that captures interactions between actors; in the case of this project, the actors are the opposition and the government (Brandes, Lerner, and Snijders 2009). The use of event data has increased in recent years due to the development of more advanced methods of text analytics. Because the use of machine-coded event data is still in its infancy, and because it is likely to be an even more important source of statistical analysis in the future, it is worth taking a more systematic look at the value and pitfalls of this data generation process (Wang et. al. 2016).

Event data analysis in political science was first used by conflict scholars to study war and other instances of political violence; since then, civil society scholars have also used it to study mass protests. Early employment of media-based event data focused on measures of volume of media attention or counts of an event (Wooley 2000); this project deploys the latter approach. Because of its substantive focus, discussion of the utility of event data in the discipline is restricted to discussion within the conflict and protest subfields, but many of the points discussed here are transferrable to the discussion of my data. The first challenge in working with media-based event data comes from the fact that we can only observe events that have been reported; when dealing with social science events, there can be many instances that are under-

reported or not reported at all. As a result, data gathered from news databases can be inconsistent or biased, resulting in sometimes dubious conclusions (Cook et. al. 2017). The general practice for dealing with this problem is to triangulate, or draw data from "multiple, overlapping" sources—thus, why my dataset relies upon news reports from three different databases (*ibid*, 224).

When discussing other limitations of media-based event data, scholars such as Earl et. al. (2004) and Weidmann (2017) focus on issues in dependability, stating that the "hard facts", such as when and where, are reliable data points but other qualities of an event—for example, casualty reports—are more prone to issues. The existing research on event data analysis addresses several additional issue areas which should be studied further as we begin to rely more on event data: selection bias and the quality of reporting (Cook et. al. 2017; Earl et. al. 2004; Weidmann 2014; Woolley 2000). Reporter description bias plays a role, wherein reporters may gloss over details to favor one side or another, negatively affecting the veracity of the data extracted from these articles. Therefore, Weidmann recommends that, at this point, scholars should only use event data on hard facts (2014). Inaccuracies such as these are more likely in events with fewer observations—in other words, those events which are discussed in fewer articles and less veracity of reporting. Woolley (2000) highlights how the nature of reporting means that accounts of events are always partial accounts, where reports parse through relevant and irrelevant facts in to form their stories. These challenges can be overcome in some however, due to the complicated nature of the search for legislative and electoral boycotts, these options were not available to me.

The Cline Center for Advanced Social Science Research at the University of Illinois is one of the leading providers of event data and innovators of text analytics. The Center's Global News Archive comprises several collections groups of news stories from different sources. In

compiling my data, I focused on three sources. The first was the Cline Center's collection from the *New York Times*, which consists of about six million news stories between 1945 and 2005. The second source is the *Wall Street Journal* archive, a collection of over two million articles from 1945 to 2005. The final source draws from four million stories from *BBC* Monitoring's Summary of World Broadcasts (SWB). The SWB collection spans the years 1979 to 2015. The SWB data is particularly valuable because it houses articles from every country in the world, and these articles have been translated to English by human translators who are fluent in the language and familiar with the cultural context in which the news articles were written ("Global News Archive").

I was able to find instances of legislative and electoral boycotts in the Global News Archive by generating user-selected corpora using SOLR. SOLR is a data index that requires operators to use a Boolean syntax to request information from searchable indexes. It also allows for hierarchical searchers, wherein the researcher can specify, for example, an article referencing a country. The researcher can then have SOLR search the returns that satisfy that parameter for articles that reference specific events. These results can be hit or miss, however, depending on how the article is referenced in the Global News Archive. For example, at one point I searched for articles on legislative boycotts within specific countries in my dataset. I specified *Albania* as the country to search, and then narrowed that search to my proven parameters for finding legislative boycotts. While my search parameters produce many false positives when countries are not specified—despite the advances in text analysis, legislative boycotts are complicated events that require a human eye to confirm search returns—specifying *Albania* returned no results. SOLR had provided me with false negatives, an incredible problem for social science research. This is because many of the articles on legislative boycotts in Albania had empty

"country" fields in the News Archive. Even where the Archive listed Albania (and the longer name, *Republic of Albania),* though, the SOLR result did not return the articles reporting Albanian boycotts that had been returned under my larger search.

I attempted to determine why I was experiencing this problem by experimenting with a range of different search terms and reached out to determine the cause of this error, but was unable to do so. There were also points where I *knew* there was a boycott in a country during a specific year, but Solr did not return any articles on this boycott in the broader search or in more narrow, country- or region-specific searches. Aware that such events existed, I realized that while these methods of gathering event data speed up the process of data generation, it is not a tool that can be relied on alone. I had to experiment with a range of different search specifications until I was confident in the returns from the Solr searches, and then I had to verify the validity of the returns myself.

Solr can produce the results of a successful search in several different formats; the most common are JSON and CSV files. In order to access the articles that result from the search, the researcher needs to copy the website produced by SOLR and use the write.csv command in R to produce the dataset. From there, I accessed the CSV file and reviewed the output. This review primarily consisted of efforts to eradicate false positives in the data. Despite the strict search parameters, many false positives still existed in the CSV file. Approximately 73% of articles returned by the SOLR search for legislative boycotts were false positives. The search for electoral boycotts fared a bit better, with 58% false positives reported. While it was easier to narrow the selection of articles to the occurrence of an electoral boycott, the added challenge of distinguishing between mass boycotts and party/candidate boycotts still kept the percentage of false positives high.

Using SOLR allowed me to construct a dataset similar to the Cline Center's Historical Phoenix Event Dataset, as they share a databank. Because of this, they also have similar limitations. The *New York Times* data trends toward American-centric news, however. As a result, most of the data pulled out into my dataset comes from articles included in SWB and FBIS. Unfortunately, FBIS and SWB have the shortest time spans of the three sources. NYT is composed of 5.7 million articles from January 1, 1945 – December 20, 2005. SWB has 4.8 million articles between January 1, 1979 and June 15, 2015. FBIS has 3.2 million articles between January 1, 1995 and September 18, 2015. Each of these sources contributed 1,092,211, 2,906,715, and 817,955 events, respectively.

I took a few precautions to avoid some of the problems that occur within the Phoenix dataset. First, the Cline Center warns that duplicates of articles/events may exist in the Phoenix data—I took care not to double-count any events in my dataset[20]. These duplicates were not addressed in the generation of the event data; therefore, some cases have inflated counts of events. My own experiences working with the news articles reported by SOLR show that many of the articles are duplicated—some articles even have three or four copies in the Global News Archive, each with slightly different titles (for example, "Croatia's opposition walks out of parliament session" versus "Opposition parties walk out of parliamentary session"). Second, the dataset also risks over-reporting of events because the articles were not pre-filtered to exclude non-political events. The Cline Center recognizes, for example, that some of the conflict events were actually produced from articles on sporting events. It is easy for the computer to make such mistakes. When I was searching for legislative boycotts through SOLR, I had to filter out many

[20] This was significantly easier for my dataset, as the likelihood of more than one electoral boycott occurring each year is minimal. It is more likely to see more than one legislative boycott, but I 1) was often able to distinguish between multiple boycotts and 2) circumvented the problem of over-counting by relying on dichotomous measures of whether or not a boycott occurred in a country-year observation.

false positives myself. One of the most memorable of these was an article on Prince Charles's first baby steps—all of my search terms happened to be present in this article! Human filtering and cleaning of these articles is necessary to eliminate many such erroneously flagged events.

The human eye was especially important when gathering the data on electoral boycotts. Although electoral boycotts have been studied before and there is existing data, I worked to verify this data and bring it up to the year 2016 using Solr and the Global News Archive. The greatest challenge here was determining which electoral boycotts were undertaken by the opposition parties and which were undertaken by voters aligned with the opposition: they were often described in similar ways, to the extent that it would be nearly impossible to distinguish a search between these two using only the Boolean syntax. I had to determine which years electoral boycotts were held, then carry out additional research in news archive databases in order to determine whether opposition candidates abstained from the polls. The electoral boycott data search exposed another potential issue with the data in the Global News Archive. When looking for evidence of electoral boycotts, I found articles coded as published in different, adjacent years but which were, in fact, referencing the same boycott. While looking to verify if a boycott was a popular boycott or a party/candidate boycott, I frequently found that no election occurred in the country that year—therefore, there was no way for there to be an electoral boycott. Once I discovered this problem, I returned to my legislative boycott data to confirm that legislative boycotts happened those years. Most of the observations I had were confirmed; some, though, I was forced to delete.

Additional concerns with this data arise from how the World News Archive data was generated, particularly the nature of the sources. SWB and FBIS, in particular, are convenience samples generated for government use. As such, they suffer from the typical shortcomings of

convenience samples. Additionally, the biases of the United States and British government selections privilege some regions and under-sample news from others. FBIS tends to favor the Middle East and East Asia. SWB tends to favor Africa and Eastern Europe. This, obviously, leads to the under-representation of Latin America in the articles that are mined for event data. Some of this bias also transfers over to the SOLR data. As a result, the observations for Latin America may not reflect the true frequency of boycotts in this region.

These examples highlight a few of the greatest challenges faced by those who choose to work with event data. First was the presence of and the need to sift through false positives. Related to this is the presences of incorrect data in the Global News Archives—for example, articles discussing an electoral boycott when there was neither an election or boycott for the year the article was coded in. While time-consuming, this problem was relatively easily overcome by an in-depth review of the Solr output to eliminate the false positives. The false negatives provided an additional challenge; unlike in the case of false positives, which could be removed from the data set, it is impossible to know for sure that all false negatives were found and included in the data. Another potential problem addressed was bias in the news sources, which could also work to underestimate the number of legislative boycotts in the dataset, in particular. While not a problem for this research project, the Cline Center warns that event data can also be biased by duplicates and over-reporting—their examples shows this is especially true if human researchers do not double-check the sources behind the data. The challenges that I have faced in constructing this dataset are reminiscent of those faced by conflict scholars now and in the past, showing that these problems working with event data are not particularly avoidable at the current state of the art. The crux of the problem is that this technology is still in its early stages; we are, no doubt, years from the point where the validity of big data, text-based searches can be taken

for granted. Until then, we as researchers still need to play a significant role in turning the results of searches such as the one I ran in Solr into workable, valid data.

Dependent Variables

The above discussion highlights the process of gathering the data on legislative and electoral boycotts. That complicated process only generates a small portion of the variables needed for this study's statistical tests. This section describes the other variables in this study, including the outcome variables, and explains why each of these variables is essential to the accurate analysis of the effect boycotts have upon democratic governance results in the long-term.

What one scholar means by "good democratic governance" and what another scholar means can vary significantly, though it is likely to contain the same normative assumptions. In general, those who talk about good governance are talking about a conceptualization of how well government works, constructing a working definition using components such as impartiality, capacity and autonomy, effectiveness, efficiency, and rule of law. Traditionally, these qualities are evaluated through experts, measured by perceptions, and ranked in accordance with our normative assumptions of the components we have gathered. Rothstein and Teorell argue that good governance means expressing a particular quality of government (QoG), defined as "the impartiality of institutions that exercise government authority" (2008, pg. 165).

Also complicating attempts to study good governance is the difficulty in operationalizing many of the phenomena we consider to be examples of "good governance." The World Bank indicators, for example, rely heavily on perceptual data from surveys. The measurement problem is a subject of lively debate (Rothberg 2014; Malito 2015). Additionally, one must address how concepts of good governance and democracy relate and overlap. Outcomes should not be a

measure or concept of governance, but the normative component of the concept itself often leads to blurred boundaries as scholars discuss and conceptualize these two ideas. Rothstein and Teorell (2008, 2012) are careful to point out that democratic institutions may be a necessary condition for democracy, but that scholars should take care to remind themselves that it is not a *sufficient* condition for quality of government.

As important as the key independent variables are the dependent variables—the measures of good governance that will be used for this project. As discussed in the introductory chapter, in my dissertation "good governance" will be captured by three separate indicators, each of which will be discussed and analyzed in relation to the two independent variables. These indicators are rule of law, low corruption, and accountability. I selected these in order to capture the elements of good governance most closely related to the outcomes of effective performance of elites in governance. These variables come from the Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) project. Initiated by Kaufmann and Kraay, the WGI consist of six composite dimensions of governance originally produced for the World Bank ("Documentation"). These six dimensions of good governances are: voice and accountability, political stability and absence of violence, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law, and control of corruption. I have elected to focus on voice and accountability, rule of law, and control of corruption.

Each of the six WGI measures are created by averaging together related and comparable measures from other data sources. Naturally, some of these measures were not transferable in their original forms. In order to make these variables work together WGI methodologists created a three-step process. First, the scholars had to determine which composite variable (if any) was the appropriate home for the original source variables. Second, the source data variables were rescaled to a 0 to 1 interval, with values nearer the higher end indicating "better" levels of that

variable. This process alone does not successfully make the data comparable across the different sourses that contribute to this project, though. In order to successfully address this, the WGI methodologists next used an Unobserved Components Model (UCM) to weight the average of each source's individual indicators. The UCM weights the rescaled data under the assumption that the observed datapoints are a linear function of the unobserved level of governance plus and error term. This linear function varies across data sources, and the UCM uses it to weight each data source in the final calculation of the composite variable. It also privileges data that are more closely correlated with each other over data that may be inconsistent with comparable sources, in order to keep outlier measures from being overly influential in the average. The resulting estimates exhibit a normal distribution where the mean equals zero and the standard deviation is 1. As a result, most of the observations range between -2.5 and 2.5 with higher values, again, corresponding to "better" exhibitions of the governance indicators.

Rule of law, the first variable we will consider here, "captures perceptions of the extent to which agents have confidence in and abide by the rules of society, and in particular the quality of contract enforcement, property rights, the police, and the courts, as well as the likelihood of crime and violence" ("Documentation"). Twenty-three sources were used to construct this variable.

According to the documentation, the control of corruption (CC) variable "captures perceptions of the extent to which public power is exercised for private gain, including both petty and grand forms of corruption, as well as "capture" of the state by elites and private interests." ("Documentation"). The control of corruption variable is constructed from variables from twenty-three different sources.

Finally, the voice and accountability variable (VAC) is comprised of measures of "perceptions of the extent to which a country's citizens are able to participate in selecting their government, as well as freedom of expression, freedom of association, and a free media" ("Documentation"). VAC draws from nineteen data sources to create the composite variable.

The largest shortcoming of the WGI, in terms of its usefulness to this project, is its abbreviated time period. The WGI covers a good number of countries—over 200—but it only does so for the period of 1996 – 2016. Therefore, I could not rely upon WGI for the entirety of my statistical analysis. It does, however, provide a wealth of information for those twenty years, and it covers many countries that other governance measures do not. On the positive side, this twenty-year period captures some of the most interesting events in democratic development around the world, as well as capturing most of the third wave of democratization as well (Huntington 1991).

Universe of Cases

In order to understand the functions of opposition parties in new democracies, we must clearly define the universe of cases in which the phenomenon of interest exists. When discussing democracies, scholars typically split them into two camps—the advanced industrialized democracies (Western Europe and the older democracies, most, but not all, of which were once colonies of Britain) and the developing democracies. The developing democracies are those that have emerged during the second and third waves of democracy.[21] More specifically, we are looking at countries which were coded as "democracy" in the DD dataset after the observation year of 1961.[22] As an extra stipulation, and in order to allow for the possibility of alternation, I

[21] These countries are colloquially referred to as members of the third wave—however, many were democracies before April 25, 1974, the date which Huntington puts at the beginning of the third wave (1991, 3).
[22] I have also restricted the dataset to those countries with a population greater than one million, due to data challenges associated with smaller states.

include only those countries which have experienced more than one fair and free multiparty election (with one major exception, elaborated on below). With this limitation, our universe of cases is comprised of 109 countries. Over the 55-year period 1961-2016, these provide 3,151 country-year observations.[23]

There is another important consideration here, however. The DD dataset does not classify countries which fulfill only the first three of the four requirements of the procedural definition of democracy, listed above, as democracies. Instead, they are considered "Type II Errors," or countries which may be democracies but are considered "false negatives" for the sake of caution, because there was yet no alternation in power (Cheibub, Gandhi and Vreeland 2010, 70). Here, I include the Type II errors in my list of democracies but will control for them in most of my statistical analysis. I choose to include them because my interest lies in the function of oppositions—oppositions do not need to become government for the purpose of my study. Additionally, the function of opposition in these countries has the potential to be a rich source of knowledge on opposition actions in new democracies—we can gain a lot by understanding their actions in light of their inability to join government.

Control Variables

Alongside the key IVs, I incorporate a few additional control variables, most of which are widely used as controls in studies on comparative democratization. I control for these common variables in order to reduce their influence on the outcome variables and more clearly see the effects of my variables of interest on democratic governance. First, I will control for region. Democratization has often been viewed as a "wave" that hits different places at different times

[23] It is important to note that, while this is the overarching universe of cases, some particular analyses draw from more limited date ranges, lowering the N. Deviations from the generalized universe of cases will be noted in the discussion of the analysis.

and, despite some holdouts, countries in the same region can be expected to begin democratization at relatively similar times (Brinks and Coppedge 2006; Elkins 2010; Elkins and Simmons 2005; Huntington 1991). Second, I will control for wealth, in the form of GDP per capita (adjusted for purchasing power parity). This variable speaks to modernization theory, which argues that a country will become more democratic as it grows wealthier (Arat 1988; Burkhart and Lewis-Beck 1994; Lipset 1959), or at least that it will sustain democracy once achieved (Epstein et. al. 2006; Przeworski et. al. 2000). Third, I will control for regime duration, since studies have shown that democratic governance can become institutionalized and less subject to change or regression the longer it holds in a country (Svolik 2008). Finally, I control for regime change type since it has been shown to relate to the effectiveness of new democracy as well as the role of oppositions following transition (Geddes, Wright, and Franz 2014; O'Donnell and Schmitter 1986).

I code region according to the World Bank classifications. The World Bank separates countries of the globe into six different regions, which generally corresponds to major regional focuses in the social sciences. These regions are Africa, East Asia and the Pacific, Europe and Central Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, Middle East and North Africa, and South Asia. I make one significant deviation from the World Bank's grouping, though—I separate the countries of Eastern Europe from the Europe and Central Asia category. I do this because of the important empirical differences of the transitions in these countries from those of Western Europe. As a result, I have the following seven regions: Africa, East Asia and the Pacific, Europe, Eastern Europe and Central Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, Middle East and North Africa, and South Asia. The World Bank is also the source for my data on GDP per capita, measured as GDP per capita adjusted for PPP, adjusted to 2005 USD.

Regime duration comes straight from the Democracy and Dictatorship revisited dataset (Cheibub, Gandhi, and Vreeland 2010). The dataset counts the age of each state for each year it does not experience a reversal from procedural democracy to authoritarianism. The last of my key control variables is regime change type, taken from the Geddes, Wright, and Franz data set (2014). This measure accounts for the type of change that led the authoritarian regime to become a procedurally democratic regime. There are three types of transitions that, by their nature, would affect the development of the new government differently. These are 1) pacted transitions, 2) coup, 3) revolution.

Methodology

Chapters Five and Six contain my statistical analyses, wherein I seek to show that opposition pursuit of extra-parliamentary strategies is not, as some have characterized it, a "death knell" for democracy, but instead can be just as valid an oppositional tactic as those we observe within the parliamentary setting. Here, I focus the two key independent variables—whether or not opposition parties have participated in electoral boycotts and whether or not opposition parties have participated in legislative boycotts. These chapters will contain additional theoretical discussion (focusing on specific characteristics of legislative and electoral boycotts, respectively) and the statistical analysis of these types of boycotts. The methods of statistical analysis are relatively simple; I will use dynamic panel data analysis of the country and country-year datasets. Dynamic panel data analysis allows us to see patterns both within and across country clusters with lagged dependent variables, as well as an overall analysis of the model.

The statistical analysis includes the universe of cases to that discussed at the beginning of this chapter—109 countries, with 3,151 country-year observations. Where the qualitative analysis satisfied the first task of showing how oppositions in new democracies decide upon and

pursue goals, the quantitative analysis seeks to show how the choice to pursue extra-parliamentary tactics affect the liberal prospects of these states and how this relates to the normative ideal of oppositions. For comparative purpose, my universe of cases includes countries which exhibit the phenomena of interest as well as those that do not.

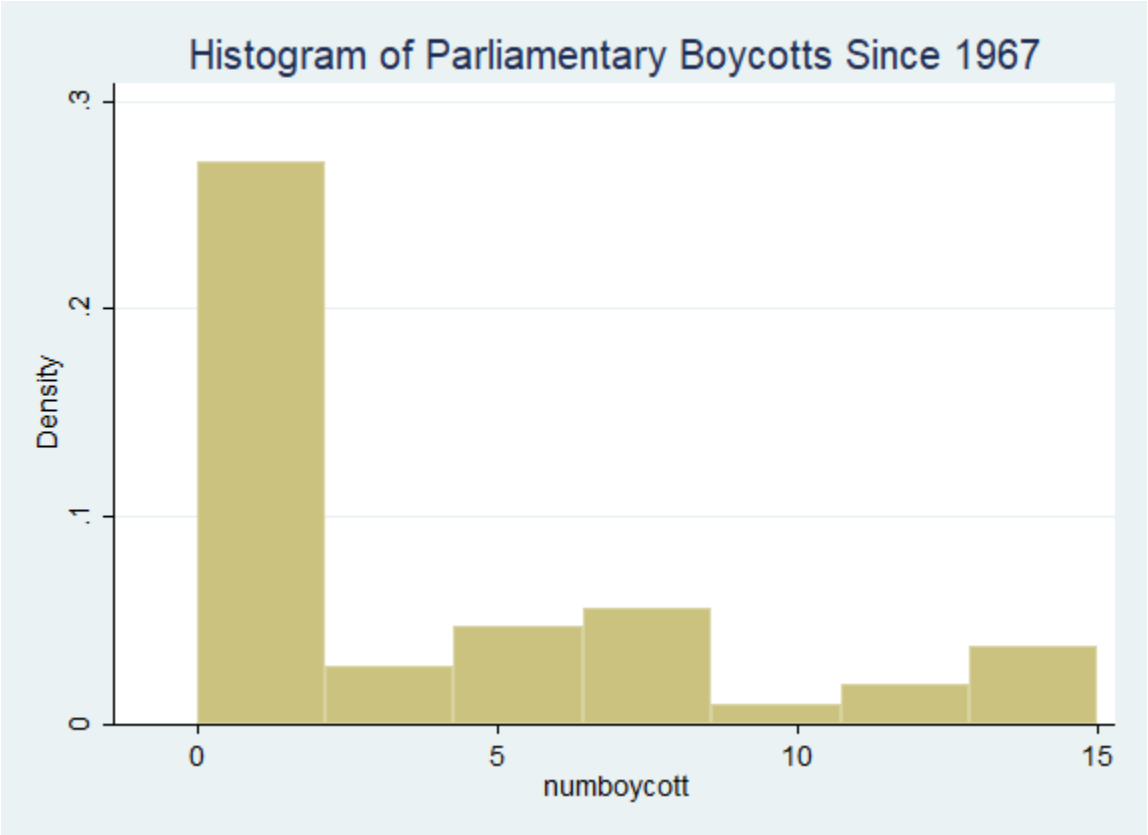
Descriptive Statistics

Legislative Boycotts

My investigation in Solr produced 181 country-year observations which were positive for a legislative boycott. The oldest boycott in the dataset occurred in India in 1967, with boycotts becoming more frequent in the mid-1990s and continuing to increase throughout the next twenty years. 50% of the observed legislative boycotts occur after the year 2005, showing that legislative boycotts are either occurring more frequently or are have become more interesting and, therefore, have become more frequently covered in international newspapers. Of the fifty-five years included in my dataset, twenty-six years have observed parliamentary boycotts. Only two of the observed boycotts occurred before 1990: India in 1967 and South Africa in 1987. 1994 also only has one observed parliamentary boycott, which occurred in Slovakia. The year with the highest number of observed boycotts is 2009, when fifteen parliamentary boycotts were held. These boycotts were held all over the world: Albania, Bangladesh, Bulgaria, Cambodia, India, Jamaica, Macedonia, Moldova, Namibia, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Russia, South Korea, Turkey, and Uganda. From 1967 to 2016, the average number of parliamentary boycotts per year is 3.5, and the median is a frequency of .5. The differences here are obviously explained by the fact that parliamentary boycotts are rare events that slowly becoming more commonly observed. For just the years with observed boycotts, the mean number of boycotts each year is 6.85 and the median is 7 boycotts per year. The histogram in Figure 1 below shows how the

distribution of the observations is shaped, showing a strong skew to the left reflecting the rarity of parliamentary boycotts.

Figure 4.1



The line graph in Figure 2 shows the general increase in parliamentary boycotts since the end of the Cold War and the explosion in the number of new Third Wave democracies, especially in Eastern Europe and Asia. While there is certainly evidence in the literature for an increase in boycotts (both parliamentary and electoral) since the end of the Cold War, it is unclear to what extent the increase observed in the dataset generated by Solr using the Global Events Archive is reflective of the true, unknown population of parliamentary boycotts. The increase may flow directly from the proliferation of new democracies prone to use these tactics. The marked increase after the 1990s may also, however, be because the data generation methods may not have performed well in capturing evidence of parliamentary boycotts before the 1990s.

This could be due to several reasons, but one of the most likely is that the potential effects of parliamentary boycotts were not well known and therefore the events themselves were not especially of interest to international newspapers. Globalization made events like parliamentary boycotts more pertinent to political and economic discussions around the world, and therefore more newsworthy.

Figure 4.2

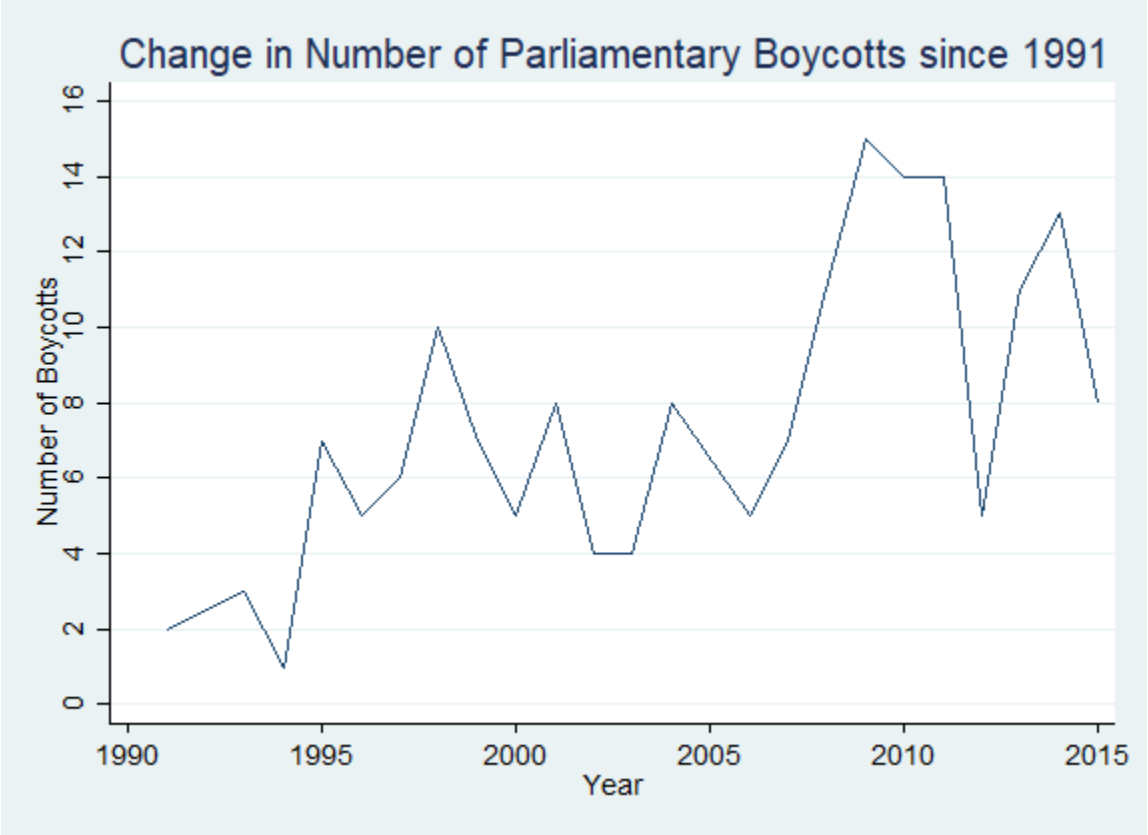
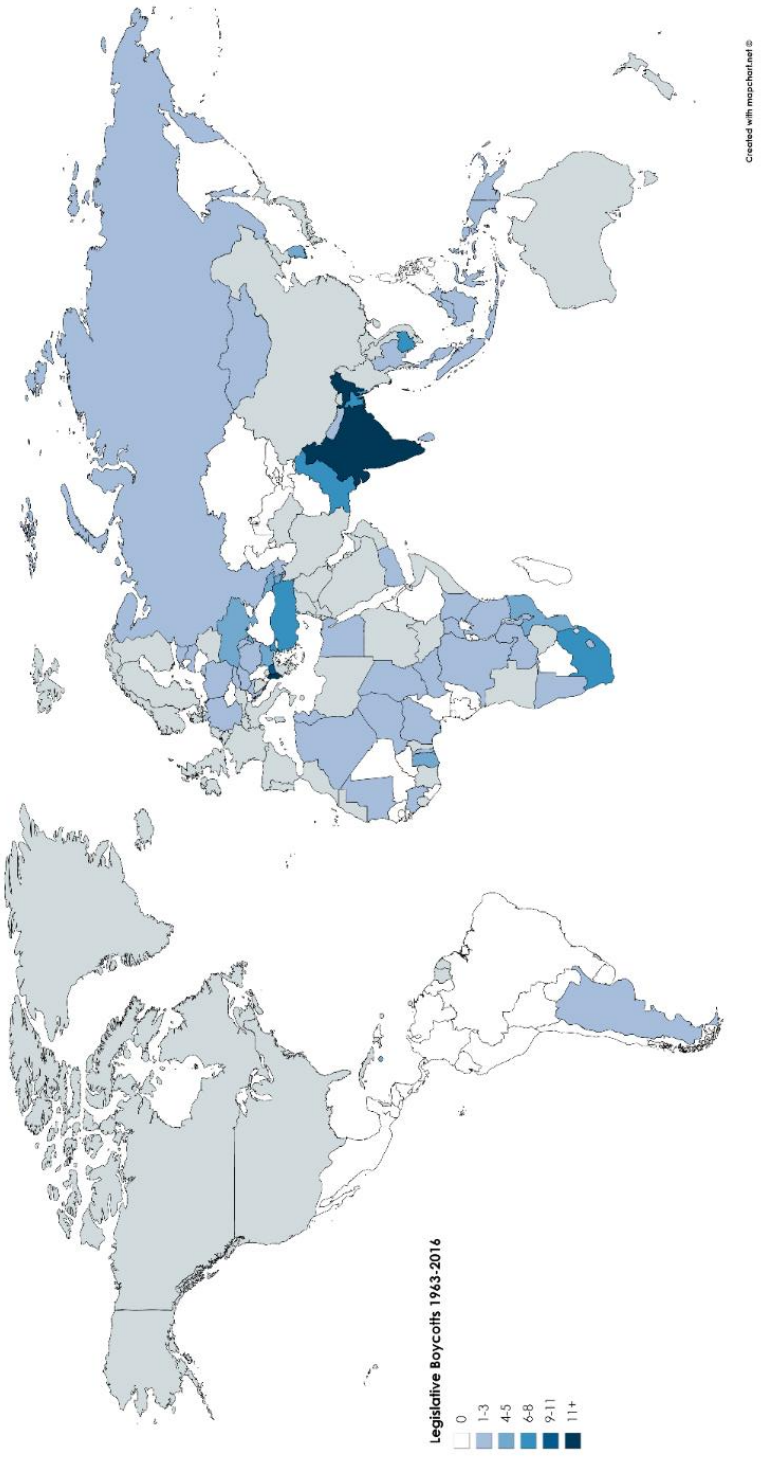


Figure 3, below, is a map of the world showing where parliamentary boycotts occur with the most frequency. The darker the blue, the more electoral boycotts are observed for that country, going back to the earliest observed boycott in 1967. The maps show that most electoral boycotts are observed in Eastern Europe and Southern Asia; this is unsurprising, since even a precursory look at the data shows high levels of parliamentary boycotts in countries such as Albania, Bangladesh, India, Macedonia, Serbia, and Montenegro. It should be noted that data generation

from Solr seemingly confirms some of the predicted biases—only one observation was gathered from Latin America (Argentina 2014), which may mean that there are several false negatives. Because of this issue, I will run two version of my statistical tests in the next section, one that will include and one that will exclude Latin America.

The descriptive statistics related to the parliamentary boycott variable I created here show several interesting features of parliamentary boycotts that deserve some further attention in future research endeavors. First, it appears that legislative boycotts can quickly become traditional modes of contention by the opposition. The Bangladesh case best illustrates this: the Bangladeshi opposition boycotts parliament frequently (and no matter who is in opposition) and, in this role, they also frequently hold performative boycotts of events like the opening of parliament. The legislative boycott is a tool to show anything from general displeasure with the leadership to intense opposition to proposed policy. In other countries, boycotts are threatened and negotiated; in Bangladesh, boycotts are often just expected. Therefore, once a legislative boycott occurs, the possibility that more boycotts will follow increases with each boycott.

Figure 4.3


Created with mapchart.net ©
Legislative Boycotts 1963-2016
0
1-3
4-5
6-8
9-11
11+

Electoral Boycotts

My investigation in Solr produces 78 country-year observations of electoral boycotts *undertaken by opposition party candidates.* The oldest observation occurred in Jamaica in 1983, with boycotts rare throughout the rest of the 80s and increasing after the 1990s. Patterns of these boycotts may be similar to those described when addressing the increase in observed legislative boycotts: international newspapers could be increasing their cove rage of these events, but actual frequency of these events may be stable. Alternatively, the rise of electoral boycotts is a function of the emergence of new democracies. Of the fifty-five years included in my dataset, only twenty-nine have observed electoral boycotts. Three occur before the 1990s, in two countries: Jamaica (1983) and Bangladesh (1986 and 1988). After that, there is no consistent pattern to the number of electoral boycotts that occur each year, which is likely due to the fact that, by necessity, an election needs to occur that year in order for an electoral boycott to occur. This greatly limits the number of possible electoral boycotts for each year. The year with the greatest number of electoral boycotts was 2009, at 9 boycotts. These boycotts were primarily in African and the Middle East: Afghanistan, Cameroon, Congo, Ghana, Malawi, Moldova, Niger, Tunisia and Uganda. From 1983 to 2016, the average number of boycotts per year is 1.57, with a median of 1. For the years with observed boycotts, the average number of parliamentary boycotts per year is 2.65 and the median is 2, showing a fairly consistent distribution with a slight positive skew. The histogram in figure 2 shows how the distribution of observed electoral boycotts is shaped, showing that most years observe only a couple of electoral boycotts, and that the number of electoral boycotts per year does not get nearly as high as the observations of parliamentary boycotts.

Figure 4.4

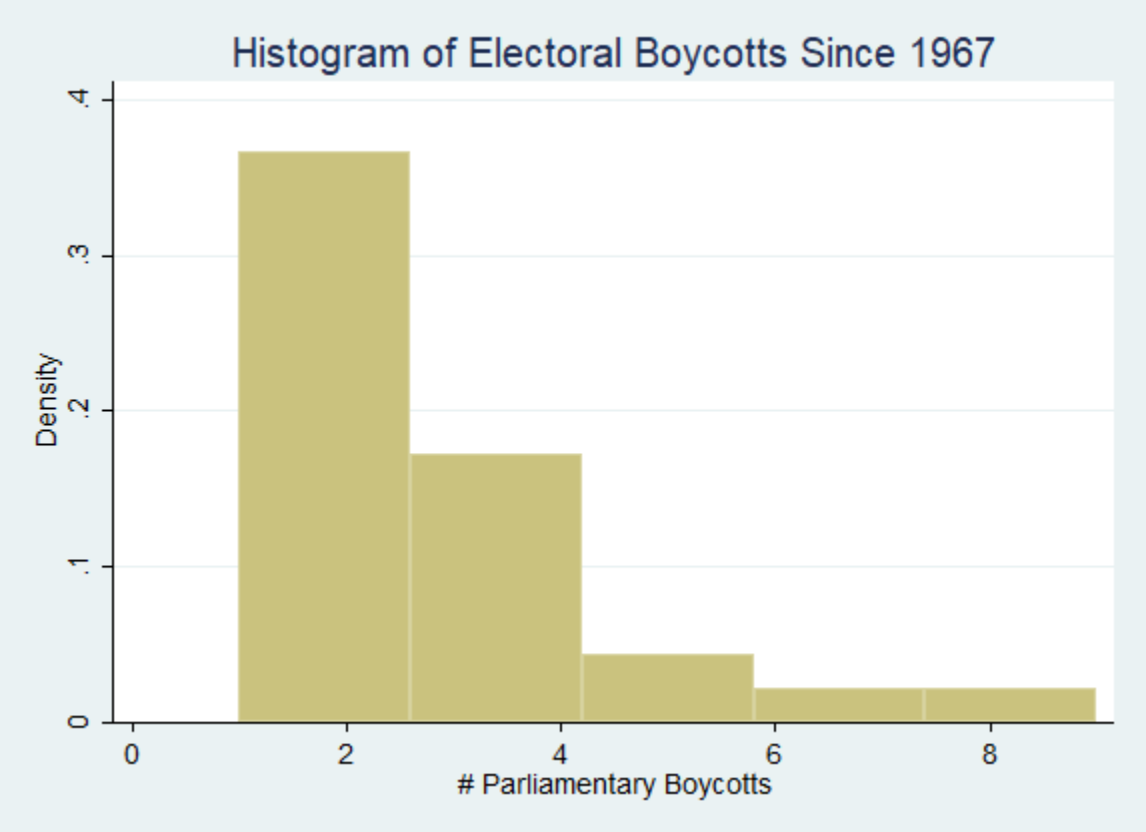
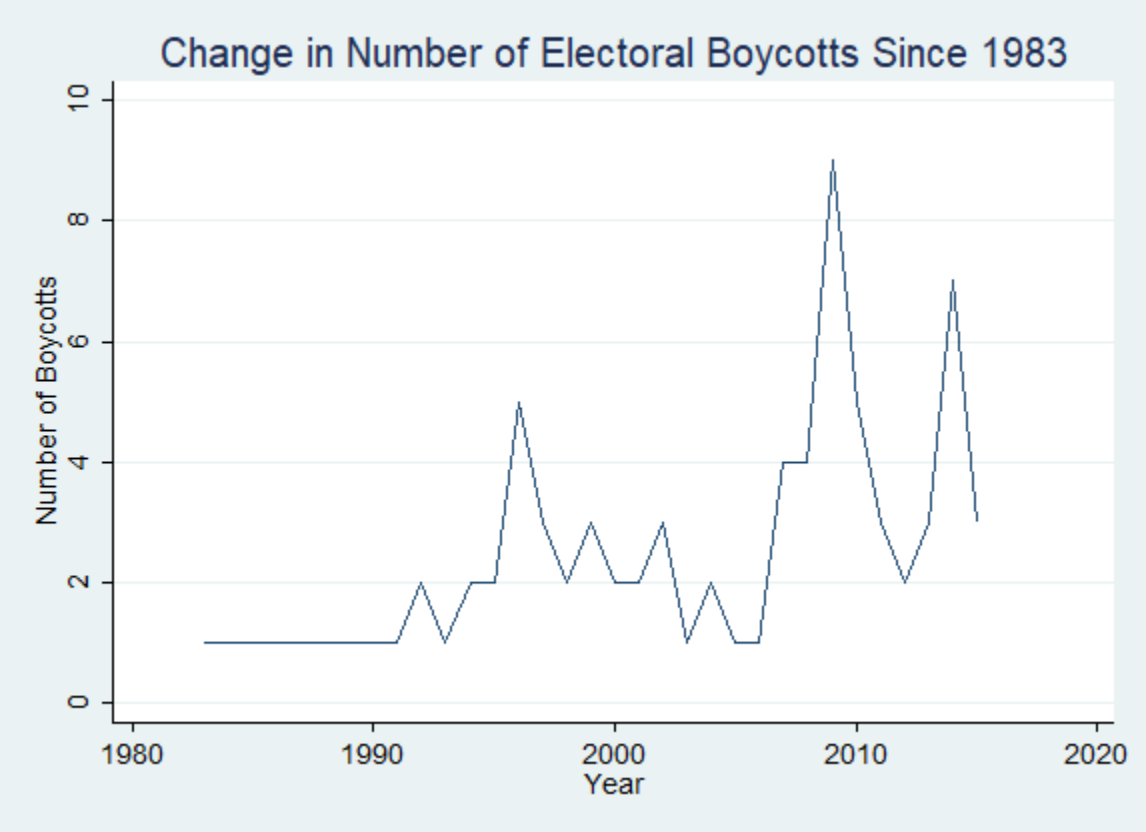


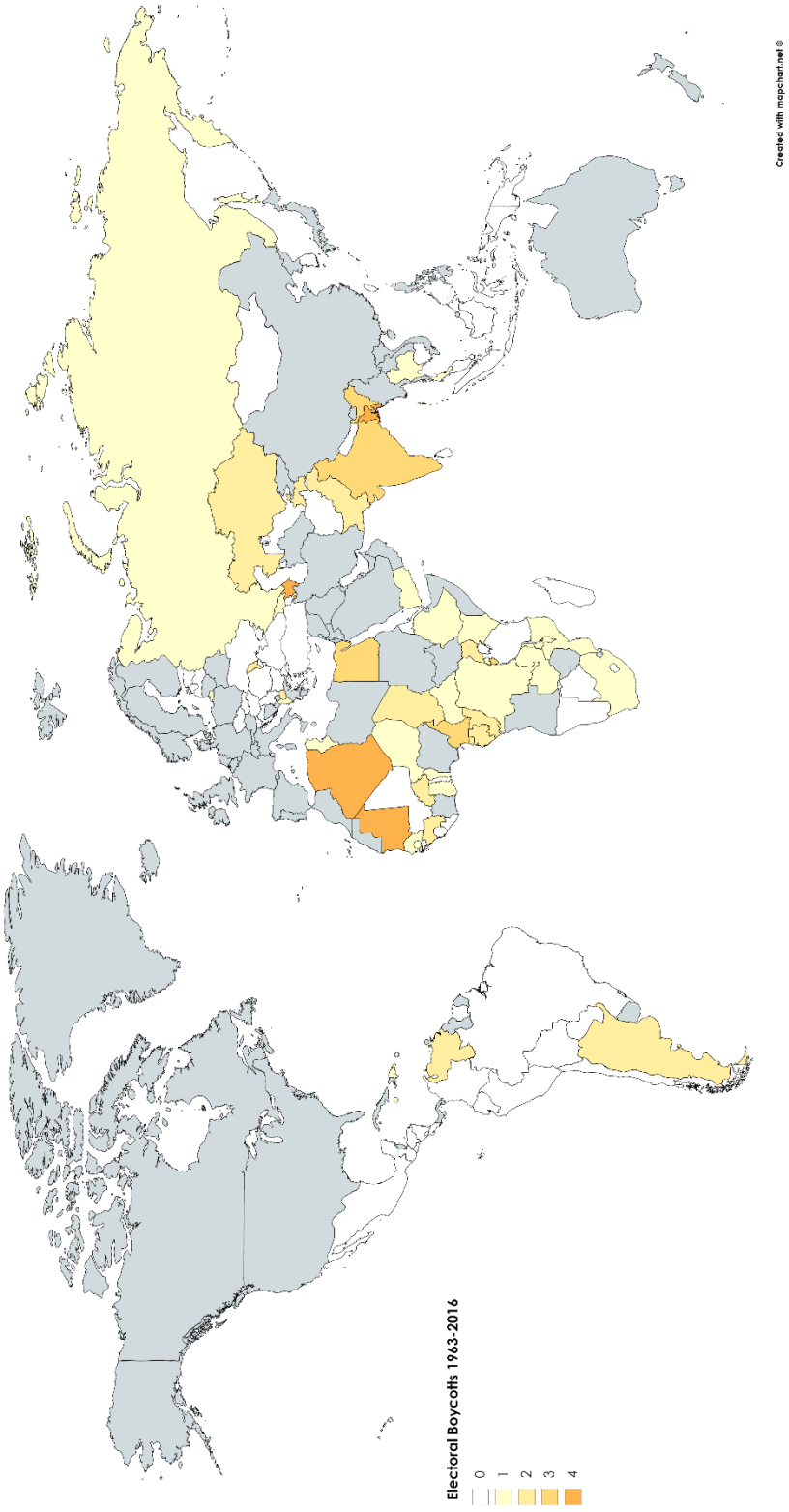
Figure 5 is a line graph of the observed number of opposition candidate electoral boycotts from 1983 onward. Where the data on parliamentary boycotts showed a great increase after the Cold War, the changes in electoral boycotts over time are not nearly as dramatic. The 1990s and the early 2000s show a number of small peaks and valleys. These peaks and valleys are similarly frequent after 2010, though their sizes are larger. The occurrence of electoral boycotts has increased over time, but this is likely a relic of the increase in number of transitioning democracies. The Global News Archive shows reporting on electoral boycotts has been frequent and consistent throughout the years, likely because the opposition's choice to boycott elections are a much more dramatic show of discontent and therefore more newsworthy.

Figure 4.5



Finally, I turn to the world map showing where electoral boycotts occur with the most frequency. The darker the orange, the more electoral boycotts are observed in that country, going back to the earliest observed boycott in 1983. The patterns of electoral boycotts are distinctly different from the patterns of parliamentary boycotts across regions. For parliamentary boycotts, most observations fell in Eastern Europe and South Asia. Here, though, even a precursory glance at the map shows that most observations occur on the African continent, with a smattering of observations in Eastern Europe and South Asia. We can also see that many of the countries that observe a high level of electoral boycotts outside of Africa also see parliamentary boycotts: for example, Albania, Bangladesh, Albania, and Macedonia.

Figure 4.6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Electoral Boycotts 1963-2016
0
1
2
3
4

After looking at the descriptive statistics for electoral boycotts it is easy to conclude that if parliamentary boycotts are considered rare events then electoral boycotts are even more so. While parsing the data, it also became evident that electoral boycotts are even more frequently avoided by 1) negotiations or 2) postponing elections entirely. The rarity of electoral boycotts in comparison to parliamentary is likely due to two predominant factors. First, electoral boycotts require an election to occur. While parliamentary boycotts can happen at any time for any length of time, an electoral boycott requires a specific event for it to occur and happens at one point in time. Second, electoral boycotts are significantly more costly than parliamentary boycotts. The outcomes of the decision to sit outside of a legislative session for a few days or a few weeks to demonstrate discontent with a country's policies is not comparable to the sacrifices made by abstaining from electoral competition, the results of which remove a party from a place where it can influence policy for years at a time—potentially even causing the dissolution of the party itself. Legislative boycotts can be short, or largely symbolic. Electoral boycotts, on the other hand, require a political party to make a significant choice—which is probably why many electoral boycotts are threatened, but not carried out[24].

Conclusions

While the data I gathered from the World News Archive allowed me to put together the first dataset on legislative boycotts, this task came with several limitations. These limitations highlighted shortcoming of the data: potential country biases, missing events, and incorrect dates for some events. Some of these problems come from the Global News Archive itself and its

[24] In "Threaten, but Participate," Frankel argues that electoral boycotts are largely unsuccessful. Instead, he argues, the *threat* to boycott an election can be more successful in eliciting change from the government than the choice to actually carry out the boycott. He does not address, though, the fact that the "threaten, but participate" course of action would be limited in its use—after a couple of times, the government would no longer be convinced to give concessions since they would know that the party would be unwilling to actually boycott the polls.

design, while others are the result of the identification process through Solr. These challenges show that constructing a reliable dataset from the Global News Archive is not a simple task. It requires refined specification of the Boolean syntax to return the correct types of articles. The process of turning these search results into useable data requires extensive human effort in parsing the real hits from the incorrect hits and then in verifying the accuracy of these hits. In the end, I was able to create a dataset that I am mostly confident in and, from here, can move on to discern any patterns in the outcomes of these two vitally important types of opposition tactics: legislative and electoral boycotts.

Chapter 5: Long-term Effects of Legislative Boycotts on Democratic Governance

Contention in the legislative setting is no new phenomenon, as we know from anecdotal historical evidence. The British parliament was famously designed to keep the government and opposition out of reach, in order to dissuade violence. A congressman in the United States beat a senator nearly to death in response to alleged slander the latter made in a speech on the Senate floor. The parliament in Taiwan, South Korea, and Ukraine are frequently seen in international newspapers amid reports of brawls in the legislative chamber, and some scholarly work has been done on the phenomenon (Batto and Tsai 2017; Gandrud 2015). The colloquialism "violence is not the answer" can even more frequently be seen in the interactions between government and opposition parties as contention becomes manifested in legislative boycotts.

A prime example of this occurred in the Slovak National Council in September of 2014. In the Slovak parliament, members from both the opposition and the government can propose bills for policy debate. That September, however, members of the opposition came to Parliament to find that ten of their bills had been removed from the agenda by the ruling Direction—Social Democracy party, better known as Smer. In response, the opposition removed thirty other bills from the docket and members from five opposition parties began to boycott[25].

The opposition decried the "arrogance of the ruling party" in the Slovak news, but Smer representatives stated that they had a right to remove those ten opposition draft bills because they were part of the "campaign" in the upcoming election. Smer said that they could be addressed once the elections were over. The opposition retorted that they were constitutionally permitted to

[25] This includes the Christian-Democratic Movement (KDH), Ordinary People and Independent Personalities (OLaNO), Most-Hid, Slovak Democratic and Christian Union (SKDU), and NOVA.

propose bills and that the majority did not have any privilege to police what type of bills they proposed (Vilikovska 2014a).

Weeks later, the government and opposition attended an extraordinary parliamentary session in which government agreed to hear a few of the discarded bills. These bills asked for changes in elections (for example, proposing that mayoral elections become two-round elections) and adjustments to the rules governing MPs (that they could not hold multiple elected positions, that they can only make one salary paid by the government, that they could not make and practice law simultaneously). Despite the opposition's success in bringing the government to the table to debate these bills, the Smer-dominated parliament rejected all but one bill (Vilikovska 2014b). While the boycott was successful in getting a response from the government and the consideration of their bills—the primary goal of the boycott—policy change was unsuccessful. Still, the government was forced to retreat by the accusation that they had overstepped their bounds and acted undemocratically and unconstitutionally. The boycott, therefore, can be seen as a partial success, and the immediate challenge from the opposition showed the government that actions like this may not be so easy in the future.

In the preceding chapters, I have discussed opposition party tactics, laid out a theory of why we might expect that boycotts are not the danger for democracy that many other scholars have contended, and provided evidence in the form of case studies that support the theory at hand. The following section discusses the hypotheses I will test in my investigation into the effects of legislative boycotts on democratic governance—specifically measures of corruption, rule of law, and accountability. The next section will show the results of the panel data analyses as well as provide three robustness checks for the primary panel data analysis. This primary analysis employs the World Governance Indicators discussed in Chapter 4.

Hypotheses

Here, I seek to expand upon the work of Beaulieu and show that the conventional wisdom that boycotts are "death knells" of democracy (2006, PG) is misguided. The dissertation overall seeks, at a minimum, to reject the following hypothesis in favor of the null.

H_1: *Extra-parliamentary tactics by the opposition in new democracies are correlated with lower scores on good governance indicators.*

I am also interested in the validity of the following competing hypothesis, that:

H_2: *Extra-parliamentary tactics by the opposition in new democracies are correlated with decreasing scores on good governance indicators.*

My theory supports either of these two results—the acceptance of the null or the acceptance of H_2—as support for the claim that, in the long-term, there are many reasons why we would expect that boycotts will have neutral or perhaps even positive effects on the development of democracies in the states in my dataset. My theory follows the analysis of Beaulieu (2006), who puts forth the argument that boycotts can cause an increase in democratic quality by encouraging the government to act in a manner more accountable to the needs of the opposition and increase its responsiveness to their stated needs. In Chapter 2, I argue more broadly, stating that the movement outside of parliament can frequently give oppositions in new democracies the ability to transmit clearer signals of the policies they desire and the lengths to which they are willing to go to see them instituted. Once we switch the focus from short-term repercussions to the long-term, I believe we will see the negative affects discussed in the literature become ameliorated due to the actual *mixed effects* of boycotts resulting from the influence of historical factors and other extraneous variables that cannot be operationalized.

This chapter, in particular, tests the following three hypotheses:

H3: *When opposition parties choose to participate in legislative boycotts, a new democracy will experience a decrease in control over corruption.*

H4: *When opposition parties choose to participate in legislative boycotts, a new democracy will experience a decrease in the rule of law.*

H5: *When opposition parties choose to participate in legislative boycotts, a new democracy will experience a decrease in level of accountability.*

The rejection of each of these hypotheses in favor of the null—that no relationship exists—will support my theory, as well as the acceptance of alternate hypotheses speculating that legislative boycotts can significantly predict an increase in the three measures of governance.

Legislative Boycotts and Good Governance

My primary set of tests look at the effects of legislative boycotts on three World Governance Indicators variables: Control of Corruption, Rule of Law, and Voice and Accountability. The specifics of each of these variables was detailed in Chapter 4, as well as an overview of the dataset itself and the mechanics behind the data formation. Here, though, I will briefly describe each variable again. Control of Corruption operationalized the extent to which public power is misused and the state is captured by political elites or private interests. Rule of law measures the extent to which elites are constrained by the rules of society and the people can have confidence that their leaders and other elites will be held accountable for violating laws. Voice and Accountability measures the extent to which a country's people have a voice in electing representatives, and then the ability to constrain those they have elected. Each of these measures has a possible value of between 0 and 1, with higher values indicating "better" outcomes.

Each statistical test uses the legislative boycott data I gathered from the Global News Archive as the key independent variable, and three-year lagged versions of Control of Corruption, Rule of Law, and Voice and Accountability as the dependent variables. As stated in Chapter 4, the main control variables used for this analysis are region, GDP per capita, type of regime change, and age of democracy. Before moving on to test the relationship between the

governance indicators and the occurrence of legislative boycotts, though, I paused to run a few important tests of the data before attempting panel data analysis. First, I tested for multicollinearity. Multicollinearity exists when the values of one explanatory variable can be predicted by the values of another explanatory variable. While the nature of my variables did not suggest that this was likely (this is often considered to be a greater concern when working with financial data, for example), testing for this problem is important in order to determine that the outcomes of the statistical analysis are robust and valid. If multicollinearity exists, then the effects of each explanatory variable is not solely predicted by the model but may also be the result of the relationship between two independent variables. I tested for multicollinearity by running regression between each of the IVs, producing auxiliary R-squareds. The size of these R-squareds indicates multicollinearity, with common practice setting the line at R1=.75. Each of the auxiliary R-squareds was far lower than this value, ranging between -0.08 and 0.218, and I therefore dismissed the possibility of multicollinearity in my model.

I then tested for the possibility of autocorrelation, which is especially a concern with time-series data. Autocorrelation, or serial correlation, exists when the value of a variable at one time is correlated with its value at a second point in time. Due to the nature of my data, I had to forego both the standard Breusch-Godfrey test for higher order autocorrelation and Durbin-Watson test for first-order autocorrelation in favor of the Wooldridge test for first-order autocorrelation, which is specially designed to run in panel data. The results of this test, where $p = 0.00$, allowed me to accept the null hypothesis that there is no first-order autocorrelation in my data.

Satisfied, I began by running my specified model using panel data analysis. Before determining the exact model specification, though, I ran a Hausman test. Since my interest lies in

the effects of variables that vary across time, and I am looking at the correlation between the occurrence of legislative boycotts and governance indicators that vary across time, theory indicates I should use fixed effects in my panel data analysis. Fixed effects remove any effect of time-invariant characteristics of countries from the model, nullifying the effects of any static endogenous country characteristics that are not directly included in the model. The Hausman test confirms that the theoretical assumption to use fixed effects is correct in two cases; for consistency sake, I employ fixed effects over random effects for all regressions in both of my statistical chapters[26].

The data is set using *country* as the panel variable and *year* as the time variable. Since these democracies vary in age and we are only interested in the time that these countries have spent as democracies, the data is unbalanced. This means that there may be biases in the data, particularly those which may be correlated with regional or cultural variables. To address this possibility, I tested my data for endogeneity and attrition bias using the BGLW test. The test shows no correlation between IVs that could lead to bias in the regression results, and no presence of heteroskedasticity in the models. As a result, there is no indication that these unbalanced panels introduce bias into the data. These results are not surprising: usually, bias with unbalanced panels are a concern when dealing with subject attrition in experimental studies. Therefore, bias was naturally unlikely here.

[26] For Corruption, p=0.00; For Rule of Law, p =0.2339; For Voice and Accountability, p= 0.1572.

Table 5.1: World Governance Indicators and Legislative Boycotts

	(1) **Corruption** *b/se*	(2) **Rule of Law** *b/se*	(3) **Accountability** *b/se*
Legislative Boycott	0046 *(0.04)*	-0.015 *(0.04)*	0.068 *(0.04)*
Region[27]	. .	. .	. .
GDP Per Capita	-0.000 *(0.00)*	0.000* *(0.00)*	-0.000*** *(0.00)*
Transition Type	. .	. .	. .
Democracy Age	0.001 *(0.00)*	-0.000 *(0.00)*	0.000 *(0.00)*
Constant	-0.417*** *(0.02)*	-0.458*** *(0.03)*	-0.050* *(0.03)*
N	1175	1174	1059
r2(w)	0.004	0.005	0.027
r2(b)	0.334	0.464	0.483
r2(o)	0.269	0.390	0.370
sigma_u	0.635	0.615	0.768
sigma_e	0.198	0.207	0.202
rho	0.911	0.898	0.935

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

The results of the fixed-effects panel data analysis are shown in Table 5.1 above. While the original model specified region and regime change type as important variables of interest, they are omitted in the panel data analysis because they are included under the fixed effects guideline (since they are invariable throughout the panel). In each test, the occurrence of a legislative boycott has insignificant effects upon each of the governance variables—corruption, rule of law, and accountability. The overall model is also insignificant—especially within the panels—with the best predictor of the dependent variables being a country's wealth, especially in

[27] For ease in reporting, and because they are omitted, I condense the seven regions (Africa, East Asia, Eastern Europe, Europe, Latin America, the Middle East, and Oceania) into one category.

Voice and Accountability model. This is despite the widely held theories linking region, wealth, transition type, and age of democracy to indicators of good governance such as control of corruption, rule of law, and accountability. These results lead me to reject H_1—that of the common theory regarding the effects of boycotts on governance—in favor of the null. This provides some support to my claims that the expectation that boycotts negatively affect the development of democracy is a questionable assertion. However, I executed a couple more tests in order to gain more confidence in the statistical results.

Unfortunately, the World Governance Indicator data—like many datasets on governance—is limited. It only goes back to 1996, and there are only data provided for even years between 1996 and 2000. While this time period does capture a lot of my data—around 67% of the country/year data and x% of the legislative boycotts—I conducted several robustness checks using other measures of corruption control and rule of law. The alternative measures of corruption come from the Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index and the Varieties of Democracy dataset. The VDem data goes back to my earliest country-year observations, while CPI ranges back to the mid-90s. The alternative measure of rule of law comes from Freedom House, which is also limited in their history of reporting. Taken with the results of the regressions run on the WGI indicators, however, they can be used to improve our confidence with the primary tests. The same can be said for the shorter-range Corruption Perception Index.

Table 5.2: Robustness Check—Corruption and Legislative Boycotts

	(1) VDem Corruption *b/se*	(2) CPI[28] *b/se*	(3) FH Rule of Law *b/se*
Legislative Boycotts	0.001 *(0.01)*	0.139 *(0.53)*	-0.172 *(0.13)*
Region	. .	. .	. .
GDP Per Capita	-0.000*** *(0.00)*	0.001*** *(0.00)*	0.000 *(0.00)*
Transition Type	. .	. .	. .
Democracy Age	0.000 *(0.00)*	0.066*** *(0.02)*	-0.058*** *(0.01)*
Constant	0.678*** *(0.02)*	24.913*** *(0.59)*	8.855*** *(0.30)*
N	1609	1097	684
r2(w)	0.027	0.207	0.063
r2(b)	0.241	0.415	0.046
r2(o)	0.198	0.387	0.050
sigma_u	0.206	8.760	3.588
sigma_e	0.067	4.046	0.732
rho	0.905	0.824	0.960

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

The robustness checks for control of corruption shown in Table 5.2 present similar results to those from the primary analysis using the World Governance Indicators. The model was specified in the same way as in the initial test, with a lagged dependent variable of three years. GDP per capita remains the most significant variable, with age of democracy becoming significant at the p<0.01 level with the Corruption Perception Index and Freedom House Rule of Law as dependent variables. Legislative boycotts still have an insignificant effect upon corruption within the countries in my dataset, though the constant shows a positive direction of

[28] The CPI is coded where low values indicate low corruption and high values indicate higher levels of corruption. Therefore, a positive coefficient shows increasing corruption while a negative coefficient shows improving control of corruption.

(the insignificant) influence for the corruption measures. Both qualities refute the generally accepted hypothesis and support the previous test in which I rejected H_1 in favor of the null. The robustness checks for rule of law provides similar confirmatory evidence, though the overall model is a poorer fit to the data, with none of the independent variables showing significance. Once again, the presence of legislative boycotts has no significant effect upon the measures of rule of law.

Table 5.3: Robustness Check—World Governance Indicators and Legislative Boycotts (No Latin America)

	(1) Corruption b/se	(2) Rule of Law b/se	(3) Accountability b/se
Legislative Boycotts	-0.001 *(0.03)*	-0.013 *(0.03)*	-0.021 *(0.03)*
Region	. .	. .	. .
GDP Per Capita	0.000 *(0.00)*	0.000** *(0.00)*	-0.000*** *(0.00)*
Transition Type	. .	. .	. .
Democracy Age	-0.000 *(0.00)*	-0.002 *(0.00)*	-0.000 *(0.00)*
Constant	-0.489*** *(0.03)*	-0.449*** *(0.03)*	-0.121*** *(0.03)*
N	888	887	872
r2(w)	0.000	0.013	0.027
r2(b)	0.376	0.497	0.370
r2(o)	0.329	0.434	0.329
sigma_u	0.573	0.578	0.773
sigma_e	0.210	0.218	0.215
rho	0.882	0.876	0.928

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

As discussed on Chapter 4, the Global News Archive generally lacks news coming from Latin America in favor of regions of more geopolitical significance to world powers such as the United States and Great Britain. Because of this, the data gathered on legislative boycotts in Latin America could be very misleading and incredibly underestimated. In order to verify my

confidence in the above regressions, I chose to run the analysis without Latin American countries, in case the potential underrepresentation of these cases affected the output of the statistical tests for the other regions. Dropping the Latin American states reduces my number of observations by 891, and also removes many of the oldest new democracies from my dataset.

The results of this analysis are in line with each of the tests previously discussed in this chapter. Even with the Latin American observations excluded, for fear that an underrepresentation of the phenomenon of interest could be biasing the results, the insignificant results provide no evidence supporting the claim that we should expect legislative boycotts to have adverse effects on democratic governance. Since excluding Latin America does not lead to different outcomes, this robustness check will not be conducted in the following chapter.

Legislative Boycotts and the Development of Good Governance

The above section tested the relationship between the level of three indicators of good governance—control of corruption, rule of law, and accountability—and the occurrence of legislative boycott. The statistical analysis produced no evidence that these indicators are affected by the presence or absence of boycotts, with each test supporting the null hypothesis that there is no relationship. This section expands upon the first tests to ask, instead, if the occurrence of legislative boycotts affect the *rate* at which these indicators change throughout the years. Might the occurrence of legislative boycotts be more closely linked to either the degradation or improvement of either of these indicators instead of simply being related to higher or lower levels of control of corruption, rule of law, or accountability?

In this section, I test the following three hypotheses. Once again, these hypotheses are written to correspond with the predominantly accepted theory that boycotts are fundamentally damaging to the development of democracy or democratic governance:

H_6: *When opposition parties choose to participate in legislative boycotts, the level of control of corruption in a new democracy will decrease.*

H_7: *When opposition parties choose to participate in legislative boycotts, the level of rule of law in a new democracy will decrease.*

H_8: *When opposition parties choose to participate in legislative boycotts, the accountability in a new democracy will decrease*.

As in the previous section, I tested these hypotheses using a panel data analysis employing the age of democracy, region, GDP per capita, and type of transition as control variables. The dichotomous measure of whether a boycott occurred that year is, once again, the key independent variable. The dependent variable takes the measure of the governance indicator during the year of interest (x) and subtracts it from the measurement of the same indicator three years later (x+3).

Table 5.4: Change in World Governance Indicators and Legislative Boycotts

	(1) Corruption b/se	(2) Rule of Law b/se	(3) Accountability b/se
Legislative Boycotts	0.005	0.006	-0.023
	(0.03)	*(0.02)*	*(0.03)*
GDP Per Capita	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.00)	*(0.00)*	*(0.00)*
Region	.	.	.
	.	.	.
Transition Type	.	.	.
	.	.	.
Age of Democracy	-0.000	-0.000	0.001
	(0.00)	*(0.00)*	*(0.00)*
Constant	0.057*	0.038	-0.025
	(0.03)	*(0.03)*	*(0.03)*
N	970	969	955
r2	0.005	0.001	0.004
r2(b)	0.001	0.001	0.000
r2(w)	0.001	0.000	0.000
sigma_u	0.094	0.086	0.090
sigma_e	0.172	0.152	0.172
rho	0.230	0.244	0.212

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

The results in Table 5.5, above, like those in the primary analysis, show support for my assertions that the generally held belief on how boycotts affect democratic development may be inaccurate. As in the previous test, the model lacks significance, particularly pertaining to the key independent variable; in other words, there is no statistical link between the observance of a legislative boycott and the perceived value of control over corruption, rule of law, and accountability, as measured by the World Governance Indicators.

Conclusions

This chapter contained the first large-N inquest into the long-term effects of legislative boycotts upon democratic development, measured by the World Governance Indicator's control of corruption, rule of law, and accountability variables. The primary analysis looked at the relationship between legislative boycotts and the value of each of the governance variables after three years. The fixed-effects panel data analysis showed that there is no significant statistical relationship between the primary IV and the DVs; the robustness checks, using other measures of control of corruption and rule of law, supported the initial results. Statistical analysis also showed that there was no relationship between the *change* in control of corruption, rule of law, or accountability and the occurrence of a legislative boycott.

Therefore, we accept the null hypothesis that the occurrence of legislative boycotts does not affect the development of good governance in new democracies. We cannot expect a priori to see any difference between the governance outcomes of those states that experience legislative boycotts and those that do not. This means we fail to accept both the hypotheses that support the general belief about that boycotts have generally negative consequences (H_1 and H_2) and the alternative hypotheses I proposed, relying on my discussion in Chapter 2. The failure to reject the null in this chapter puts us one step closer to confidently rejecting the standing consensus that

extra-parliamentary tactics are fundamentally bad for democracy. These results are consistent with the proposition that democratic outcomes are variable, with some cases seeing improvement while others may experience a negative effect. The following chapter, which addresses the consequences of electoral boycotts, will provide the rest of the information needed to make a final statement on the validity of these hypotheses.

Chapter 6: Long-term Effects of Electoral Boycotts on Democratic Governance

In 2007, the Senegalese opposition called for an electoral boycott under allegations of fraud in President Abdoulaye Wade's election earlier that year. The rationale for this boycott and the demands by the opposition were almost textbook: the opposition declared that there had been electoral fraud during that year's presidential election, which was largely the result of a doctored electoral roll[29]. Rewmi party spokesman Yankhoba Seydi framed the discourse of the boycott by stating "Let's talk about the rules. There are many things that are wrong in the registration process. Let us check the multiple cards that [are] issued for the voters" (Tran 2009a). They called for the electoral roll to be revised as well as for the establishment of an independent electoral commission.

The choice to qualify the boycott as "almost" textbook comes from a secondary point of contention from the opposition: the rules governing the re-establishment of the Senegalese Senate by President Wade (the leader of the Senegalese Democratic Party (PDS)). Wade's government had dissolved the Senate in 2000 in favor of a unicameral legislative chamber and, in 2007, had re-established the chamber under different electoral and composition rules.[30] It was the Senate elections that the opposition was boycotting; they alleged that the chamber itself was unfair because, as opposition coalition leader Moustapha Fall stated, there was no reason for the opposition to run for a Senate seat. As designed, 65% of the Senate seats would be appointed by the President. The government states that this was to ensure that quotas—such as those for

[29] It is important to note that, despite the opposition's allegations, both internal and international election monitors had certified the presidential election as fair. This is despite some minor allegations of an uneven playing field: for example, the ruling party generally had greater access to the media than the opposition parties (Tran 2009a).
[30] In 2012, President Macky Sall once again dissolved the Senate chamber in favor of a unicameral legislature.

women representatives and minorities—would be met[31]. The opposition argued, instead, that this design was meant to ensure the President's party's control over the legislature (Tran 2009b).

In the short-term, the boycott resulted in a Senate that was dominated by Wade's PDS party, which had won all the plurality seats and much of the proportional seats. Turnout was lower than past elections, likely a result of the number of boycotting parties, perceived unfairness of the election, and the resulting restriction of vote choice resulting in unmeaningful vote choice (Birch 2010). Looking at these immediate results, political scientists investigating electoral boycotts in the short-term would likely adopt a pessimistic view of the effects this boycott has on democracy. For example, when discussing the possible outcomes of the boycott a representative of the US-based National Democratic Institute said that these outcomes would reduce the legitimacy of the government and potentially damage democracy in Senegal (Tran 2006a). In the more than a decade after this election, though, democracy in Senegal has not been significantly affected: there have been no significant drops in governance measures—in fact, there have been some increases—and there has been political alternation in the executive and the legislature. This is far from the "death knell" for democracy that Beaulieu (2010) used to characterize the predominant belief on boycotts' effects. Seeing this, what can we expect to come from electoral boycotts?

It is important to remember that while my investigation shows that legislative boycotts are far more common than electoral boycotts, the literature on electoral boycotts significantly outnumbers that on legislative boycotts. This is unsurprising: as rarer events, electoral boycotts are more potentially consequential and hence more newsworthy. Also, the fact that boycotting an

[31] There is evidence to support that this may be at least partially the intention. The government had intended to reopen the Senate with a legal quota of 50% representation for women on the candidate lists. This law had been detained in court and would not be in effect by the 2007 election (Tran 2009b).

election can come at a much greater cost than boycotting the legislature makes it a more attractive subject of study. Electoral boycotts are also much more likely to occur when a state has difficulty holding free and fair elections or, at least, elections that are perceived to be free and fair. As a result, the implication is that electoral boycotts are a much better indicator of how democratic development is progressing in a country.

Because of this, we have a greater understanding of why electoral boycotts happen and when they will occur. Electoral boycotts are not very common, but partial boycotts of the opposition happen more often than full opposition boycotts. For example, in a country with high ethnic tensions, such as Macedonia or Bulgaria, it would be more likely for ethnic minority parties to threaten to or carry out a boycott of an election than it would be for the entire opposition to decide to boycott. We also see that flawed elections are much more likely to be boycotted: Lindberg finds that 55-60% of elections that he defines as flawed are boycotted by the opposition, while only 10% of free and fair elections are boycotted (Lindberg 2004). This is unsurprising: opposition participation naturally increases the level of competition and turnout for an election: Lindberg even notes that opposition participation is a greater predictor of competition level and participation than whether or not an election is free and fair (*ibid*.). Electoral quality is also the greatest indicator of whether or not an election will be boycotted, with opposition parties most likely to cite fraud or the need for electoral reforms as reasons why they choose to boycott and election (Beaulieu 2006; Bratton 1998; Kelley 2011; Lindberg 2006; Pastor 1998). Beaulieu (2006) qualifies this: major boycotts are typically undertaken because of electoral unfairness, while minor boycotts can be motivated by the grievances of a particular group.

Perhaps naturally, my universe of cases of electoral boycotts heavily favors those Type II errors in the CGV dataset: those countries which may be democracies but have not reached the requirement of an alternation. After all, electoral boycotts are more common when elections are perceived to be unfair.

The preceding chapter tested several hypotheses about the effects of legislative boycotts on good governance; this chapter conducts a very similar investigation, focused on electoral boycotts. There has been a lot of previous work on the effects of electoral boycotts, though these were largely limited to short-run problems. My investigation looks at the long-run effects electoral boycotts can have on measures of governance. In the following section, I lay out the hypotheses that I will test in my study of the effects of electoral boycotts on the World Governance Indicators on corruption, rule of law, and accountability. After that, I will discuss the results of the panel data analyses, as well as the same three robustness checks that I conducted in Chapter 5.

Hypotheses

The hypotheses guiding the investigation in this chapter are nearly identical to those in the previous chapter on legislative boycotts; therefore, the discussion here will be abbreviated. Before proceeding to the chapter-specific chapters, though, it is prudent to highlight the dissertations' overall hypothesis and its alternatives once more.

H_0: *Extra-parliamentary tactics by the opposition in new democracies are not correlated with improved scores on good governance indicators.*

H_1: *Extra-parliamentary tactics by the opposition in new democracies are correlated with lower scores on good governance indicators.*

H_2: *Extra-parliamentary tactics by the opposition in new democracies are correlated with decreasing scores on good governance indicators.*

The results in the previous chapter's analysis of legislative boycotts pointed toward the overall acceptance of the null hypothesis of no relationship between extra-parliamentary actions; however, in order to confirm the acceptance of the null I must also test my second type of tactic in the same manner. Therefore, I test the following three hypotheses, once again using a fixed-effects panel data analysis:

H_3: *When opposition parties choose to participate in electoral boycotts, a new democracy will experience lower measures of control over corruption.*

H_4: *When opposition parties choose to participate in electoral boycotts, a new democracy will experience lower measures of rule of law.*

H_5: *When opposition parties choose to participate in electoral boycotts, a new democracy will experience lower measures of level of accountability.*

Each of these has a corresponding alternate hypothesis, stemming from the theory proposed in Chapter 2, which allows for electoral boycotts to lead to an increase in democratic development, addressed by specific measures of good governance.

Electoral Boycotts and Good Governance

As with Chapter 5, this set of statistical tests use the World Governance Indicators Control of Corruption, Rule of Law, and Voice and Accountability, Rule of Law as the dependent variables. I test to see what effects the occurrence of an electoral boycott has upon the outcome variables, controlling for four key variables: GDP per capita, type of regime change, region, and age of democracy. The electoral boycott data comes from my work with the Global News Archive and is a dichotomous variable.

Once again, I ran a few tests before the panel data analysis. I first tested for multicollinearity by producing auxiliary R-squareds. Each of the auxiliary R-squares was lower than the like at R1=.75, leading me to reject the notion that there was multicollinearity present in my model. I next tests for autocorrelation which is, as mentioned in Chapter 5, a particular

concern with time-series data. I used the Wooldridge test for first-order autocorrelation, the results of which showed me that there was no first-order autocorrelation in my data.

Satisfied that this data didn't require me to make any special accommodations to my test, I proceeded as I did with the panel data analysis of the effects of legislative boycotts. I ran a Hausman test to confirm that, like in my previous chapter, a fixed effects model was the best specification for my panel data analysis. The Hausman test confirmed this again. I then set the data using *country* as the panel variable and *year* as the time variable. Since my country/year variables did not change from the previous analysis, the panels remain unbalanced and I tested for endogeneity and attrition bias again, for good measure. There was no indication of potentially biasing correlation between IVs or heteroskedasticity in the panels; once again, this was expected, since bias is unlikely due to the nature of this type of data.

Table 6.1: World Governance Indicators and Electoral Boycotts

	(1) **Corruption** *b/se*	(2) **Rule of Law** *b/se*	(3) **Accountability** *b/se*
Electoral Boycott	-0.002 *(0.03)*	-0.015 *(0.03)*	-0.020 *(0.03)*
Region	.	.	.
	.	.	.
GDP Per Capita	-0.000 *(0.00)*	0.000* *(0.00)*	-0.000*** *(0.00)*
Transition Type	.	.	.
	.	.	.
Democracy Age	0.001 *(0.00)*	-0.000 *(0.00)*	0.000 *(0.00)*
Constant	-0.416*** (0.02)	-0.457*** (0.03)	-0.046*** (0.03)
N	1175	1174	1159
r2(w)	0.002	0.005	0.024
r2(b)	0.318	0.460	0.466
r3(o)	0.270	0.385	0.372
sigma_u	0.635	0.615	0.768
sigma_e	0.198	0.207	0.202
rho	0.911	0.898	0.935

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table 6.1, above, shows the results of the fixed-effects panel data analysis. Once again, despite the fact that region and regime change type are theoretically important to my model the use of fixed effects leads to their omission, since they are invariable. The tests for the outcome variables of control of corruption and rule of law produce results very similar to those in Chapter 5. With the exception of GDP per capita, the only part of the model with significance is the constant, and the coefficients are small. The significance of GDP per capita in Test 3 reflects the analyses in Chapter 5, and the belief in the literature of the important effects of wealth on democratization. The direction of the coefficient on the dependent variable suggests that the effects of electoral boycotts would be damaging to rule of law and control of corruption but, as

stated above, the explanatory variable is insignificant so there is no evidence that it doesn't, in fact, affect the indicators of good governance.

Table 6.2: Robustness Check—Control of Corruption and Electoral Boycotts

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	VDem: Corruption	**CPI**	**Freedom House**
	b/se	*b/se*	*b/se*
Electoral Boycott	-0.002	1.149	-0.015
	(0.01)	*(0.81)*	*(0.16)*
Region	.	.	.
	.	.	.
GDP Per Capita	-0.000***	0.001***	0.000
	(0.00)	*(0.00)*	*(0.00)*
Transition Type	.	.	.
	.	.	.
Democracy Age	0.000	0.065**	-0.060***
	(0.00)	*(0.02)*	*(0.01)*
Constant	0.672***	24.907***	8.858***
	(0.02)	*(0.59)*	*(0.30)*
N	1609	1097	684
r2(w)	0.027	0.209	0.060
r2(b)	0.241	0.412	0.048
r2(o)	0.198	0.385	0.052
sigma_u	0.206	8.775	3.588
sigma_e	0.067	4.043	0.733
rho	0.905	0.825	0.960

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

As in Chapter 5, I conducted three robustness checks. I present these in order to bolster the findings from my primary test, due to the historical limitations of the WGI data. While some of these variables are similarly limited, the presence of some longer-run measures along with measures of similar length that are gathered differently could work to support the findings in table 6.1, if they present similar stories. Table 6.2, above, presents the results of the robustness checks control of corruption and electoral boycotts. Like the robustness check in Chapter 5, the alternative corruption and rule of law measures are not affected by the presence or absence of electoral boycotts. The coefficients are relatively small and entirely insignificant. In the corruption tests, however, we see that, while our variable of interest is insignificant, GDP per capita and the age of democracy become significant indicators of the perception of how high

corruption is in a state. The coefficients for these variables, however, provide conflicting accounts of the effects of electoral boycotts. However, while indicators for control variables vary from the regressions run on the WGI data, the direction and significance of electoral boycotts remains the same—insignificant.

While there are some differences in the models, the robustness checks support the preliminary finding that electoral boycotts have no discernable overall effect on the development of aspects of good governance when related to control of corruption or the rule of law. As a result, we have to reject H_3 and H_4 in favor of the null that electoral boycotts have neither the detrimental effect upon these key traits of democracy that is proposed in the common theory on the effects of boycotts on democracy nor the potential for growth that I proposed as a possibility in Chapter 2.

Legislative Boycotts and the Development of Good Governance

Finally, I once again test to see if the *change* in control of corruption, rule of law, and accountability is related to the occurrence of electoral boycotts. The first set of hypotheses specify what the common theory on electoral boycotts would propose. The second set of three corresponds to the theory proposed in Chapter 2, which proposes the possibility that boycotts can elicit positive outcomes in new democracies.

H6: *When opposition parties choose to participate in electoral boycotts, a new democracy will experience a decrease in control of corruption.*

H7: *When opposition parties choose to participate in electoral boycotts, a new democracy will experience a decrease in rule of law.*

H8: *When opposition parties choose to participate in electoral boycotts, a new democracy will experience a decrease in accountability.*

As with the overall hypotheses, rejection of these hypotheses corresponds with the widely-held belief that electoral boycotts can damage democratic governance. Acceptance of the

null of no relationship or the alternative hypotheses linking an increase in the three governance variables and electoral boycotts will support the theoretical framework established in Chapter 2.

Table 6.3: Change in World Governance Indicators and Electoral Boycotts

	(1) Corruption b/se	(2) Rule of Law b/se	(3) Accountability b/se
Electoral Boycott	-0.019	-0.002	0.026
	(0.03)	*(0.03)*	*(0.04)*
GDP Per Capita	-0.000*	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.00)	*(0.00)*	*(0.00)*
Region	.	.	.
	.	.	.
Transition Type	.	.	.
	.	.	.
Democracy Age	-0.000	-0.000	0.001
	(0.00)	*(0.00)*	*(0.00)*
Constant	0.059*	0.039	-0.029
	(0.03)	*(0.03)*	*(0.03)*
N	970	969	955
r2(w)	0.005	0.001	0.003
r2(b)	0.001	0.002	0.000
r2(o)	0.001	0.000	0.000
sigma_u	0.094	0.086	0.089
sigma_e	0.172	0.152	0.172
rho	0.231	0.245	0.210

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Again, the results of the statistical analysis make us unable to reject the null hypothesis that no relationship exists between change in good governance indicators and the occurrence of electoral boycotts. This indicates that there is no inherent attribute of electoral boycotts that causes them to negatively affect democracy or democratic development, necessitating the rejection of the commonly held belief that boycotts are bad for democracy (at least, in the long-run). There is also no indication that my alternative proposal—that the signals sent by opposition parties when they choose to boycott can facilitate the development of good governance—can be supported by the observed data.

Conclusions

The set of fixed-effects panel data analyses summarized in Tables 6.1-6.3 show that there is often no statistical relationship between electoral boycotts and either the observed level of governance indicator or the observed change in governance indicators after three years. We cannot expect to see any difference in measure of democratic governance when a party protests by refusing to field a candidate and when it does not. To highlight a few reasons why this may be, I will return to my discussion in Chapter Two. First, electoral boycotts may not hinder democratic development because they allow opposition parties to draw attention to their grievances in a dramatic fashion. This not only highlights the opposition's discontent for the government but can also work to draw the eye of the international system. This attention can frequently bring outside pressure for reform, something that is even more influential on countries that have or aspire to membership in certain intergovernmental associations, such as the European Union or NATO.

Second, electoral boycotts are the stronger of the two signals discussed in this dissertation, as mentioned when discussing the potential consequences of undergoing electoral boycotts. The choice to threaten or undertake an electoral boycott can prevent deterioration of democratic quality by prompting the government to either write new laws, change laws or to better abide by the legislation on record (Beaulieu 2006). For example, electoral boycotts are often undertaken when the opposition is troubled by aspects of the electoral system. There is common evidence of the government choosing to update the electoral roll or change the electoral formula after boycotted elections; such changes can prevent a democracy from decaying in a new democracy or even prevent the country from straying down the path toward authoritarian reversal.

The discussion of the outcomes of our tests of H_1 and H_2 is reserved for the conclusion chapter, which will follow this chapter. Now, though, it is prudent to reassert that we have failed to reject the null hypotheses associated with H_3, H_4, H_6. H_7, and H_8. The results of the panel data analysis also prompt us to reject the null and H_5 in favor of the alternative hypothesis that countries that experience an electoral boycott will also experience and increase in accountability. Although there were mixed results, evidence still supports the assertion that, overall, we cannot expect countries that experience electoral boycotts to present different quality of governance than those that do not.

Chapter 7: Conclusions on an Exploratory Analysis of the Long-Term Effects of Extra-Parliamentary Tactics on Good Governance

In this dissertation, I designed and executed a preliminary investigation into the effects of extra-parliamentary opposition tactics, particularly electoral and parliamentary boycotts, on the development of democratic governance, in the long term. To date, the predominant scholarly opinion on the use of extra-parliamentary tactics was highly critical of their appropriateness and utility. Scholars such as Lindberg (2006; 2006a) and Kelly (2001) posit that electoral boycotts damage democracy in several ways, first by affecting the quality of elections and limiting the level of representation in the government. Secondly, they remove viable parties from the electoral contest, which reduces the occurrence of alternations—a definitional aspect of democracy in the formulation of Cheibub, Gandhi, and Vreeland (2010). Next, they believe that oppositions undertaking boycotts signal a weakness in institutional legitimacy, which may then trickle down to affect the public's confidence in democratic rule.

Finally, accountability and governance can be negatively affected by how legislative boycotts can limit representation and deliberation in democracy (Spary 2013). This project was designed to challenge this point-of-view by undertaking a large-scale investigation of electoral and legislative boycotts in new democracies, focusing on their effects from the lens of a functional role of opposition parties rather than the challenger role. In other words, I sought to determine if an opposition that pursues extra-parliamentary tactics to achieve its goals really does hamper its ability to work effectively within democratic institutions and, by extension, the ability of democratic institutions to function as they should.

I began this dissertation by discussing oppositions and how they form goals and choose between tactics to pursue them, illustrating how boycotts can act as a strong political signal. This

signal, the boycott, has the potential to circumvent issues in the development of democratic governance by improving lines of communication and sending more accurate information on the opposition's goals and what they are willing to do to reach them.

In Chapter 5 I specified two hypotheses to guide this dissertation. The first hypothesis follows the general assumptions about the effects of boycotts on democracy, linking extra-parliamentary tactics with poorer performance in governance. The second hypothesis corresponds with my alternative arguments in Chapter 3, linking extra-parliamentary tactics with *increases* in measures of governance.

H_1: *Extra-parliamentary tactics by the opposition in new democracies are correlated with lower scores on good governance indicators.*

H_2: *Extra-parliamentary tactics by the opposition in new democracies are correlated with decreasing scores on good governance indicators.*

Chapters 5 and 6 discussed the results of the statistical analysis for legislative boycotts and electoral boycotts, respectively. Now, I bring these two sets of results together to see the overall picture of the effects of extra-parliamentary tactics on good governance outcomes. Each of these chapters tested six different hypotheses. The first set of three was concerned with the levels of governance indicators in the cases of control of corruption, rule of law, and accountability, respectively. The second set of three tested the relationship between the change in control of corruption, rule of law, and accountability and the occurrence of boycotts.

The first hypothesis, which corresponds with the predominant opinion on the effects of boycotts, states that there would be a correlation between the occurrence of boycotts and lower scores on good governance indicators. The results shown in Tables 5.1 and 6.1 indicate that H_1 should be rejected in favor of the null hypothesis, in general. Specifically, this holds for all tests of the WGI and legislative boycotts and the relationship between corruption, rule of law, and electoral boycotts. The test of accountability required the acceptance of the alternative

hypothesis that extra-parliamentary tactics are correlated with higher measures of accountability. As stated above, though, the evidence from statistical analysis overwhelmingly supports the statement that there is no significant difference between WGI scores in countries that did and those that did not experience a legislative or electoral boycott. Robustness checks using alternative measures of rule of law and control of corruption bolster this conclusion.

If extra-parliamentary tactics are not related to the observed governance scores, they might still support the general opinion on boycotts and democracy and cause a decrease in government scores. I tested a three-year change in measures of control of corruption, rule of law, and accountability to see if there was support for H_2. The analyses in both chapters show that there is no significant relationship between this three-year change in governance indicators in the states that do and those that do not experience electoral or legislative boycotts. Once again, robustness checks lend support to the choice to reject H_2 in favor of the null of no relationship.

Therefore, the results of my statistics chapters present no support for the predominant belief that opposition parties can damage governance and hurt democracy in states that have recently transitioned from authoritarianism. Countries with opposition parties that undertake extra-parliamentary tactics do not fare any worse or any better than those that do not have parties that take such initiatives, on average. The results of this initial foray into the relationship between oppositions who work outside of parliament and long-term measures of democratic governance are null but theoretically interesting. By providing evidence that refutes the generally accepted perspective on extra-parliamentary tactics, we can begin to move past a condemnation of the approach and into a more nuanced understanding of when and how these tactics can be used productively and when they cause damage to democratic governance.

Contributions

This research project presents one of the most extensive studies of the effects of extra-parliamentary tactics to date, by focusing on legislative and electoral boycotts by opposition parties and determining what long-term effects they might have on democratic development. Where my statistical analysis indicated no significant pattern of relationship between boycotts and democratic governance, I provided a rationale for why we might expect this relationship to be different than that in the predominant theoretical expectation. My case study analysis also showed that there are occasions in which a boycott, if effectively undertaken, can have positive repercussions on democratic governance. Together, each case study and the statistical analysis suggests a widely varied possibility of effects of an opposition's choice to embrace extra-parliamentary tactics, with the case study indicating that targeted goals, infrequent choice to pursue extra-parliamentary tactics, and international pressure can increase the likelihood of positive outcomes. Overall, this project provides a unique contribution to the study of opposition parties and has implications for our understandings of emerging democracies and the process of consolidation.

A second notable contribution of this dissertation is derived from my use of media-based event data. With no existing dataset on legislative boycotts, and the difficulty in gathering this data posed by the wide range of frequency and newsworthiness of these events from country to country, I turned to the Global News Archive. My time constructing this dataset highlighted the values and pitfalls of data generation through media-based event data, which is growing in importance as a source of statistical data (Wang et. al. 2016). However, media-based event data is primarily used to study war and other instances of violence, though its use in the mass movement literature has become more common. In taking this data source out of its primary

arena I was able to highlight many of the issues that are still present in the technique in hope of raising awareness of these challenges for researchers looking to employ this tactic in the future.

Weaknesses

While this study has taken large steps in establishing our understanding of the effects of opposition extra-parliamentary tactics on democratic development, there are still several shortcomings that must be addressed before the study is concluded. Chapter 4 highlighted several weaknesses with the large-N statistical data that must be restated here. First, the Global News Archive, as a collection of several worldwide newspapers has some inherent bias in the cases they report due to their nature as convenience samples. Both FBIS and SWB favor different countries, but both under-represent the Latin American cases. The gaps in information was rather simple to fill for the cases of electoral boycotts, as these tend to be more newsworthy; however, there could be many instances of Latin American legislative boycotts that are missing data.

Regarding my case studies, I think that their greatest weakness comes from the reliance on news events as the primary data source. Many of these news articles are repetitive, meaning that there was only so much information available on each case; I had, at some points, considered other cases but was unable to gather enough information to adequately investigate these boycotts. These case studies could have been greatly bolstered by field work, particularly interviews with opposition party members and leaders. This would have further emphasized the decision-making that went into the boycotts, interactions between the relevant parties, and other processes and events key to determining the outcomes of each boycott. However, no funding was available for field research and my inquiry had to settle for news accounts of boycotts along with some academic articles, if they were available.

Possibilities for Future Inquiry

This dissertation is a preliminary investigation of the functional role of opposition parties and the quality of that role and its effects on governance after an opposition chooses to pursue extra-parliamentary tactics. As such, it creates a foundation for many additional avenues of inquiry in future research projects. These should be guided by the more extended case studies mentioned in the preceding section: by carrying out field research and interviews with opposition parties and their leaders, we can understand much more about the motivations for and decision-making process in undertaking extra-parliamentary tactics. This will provide more evidence in studying the framing of these tactics and the effects, beyond what we can learn from the short news articles that inform the bulk of the data for this project. Extended case studies, bolstered with additional information from field research, would shed more light on the causal mechanisms at hand and increase our confidence in the results of the study.

It would also be interesting to extend this study beyond its focus on boycotts to the other extra-parliamentary tactics mentioned in Table 2.1. These are 1) criticizing the government party in the media, 2) criticizing government policy in the media, 3) calling for protests, and 4) participating in protests. Such a path will expand our ability to answer the question of whether extra-parliamentary paths of opposition impede the development of democracy in its substantive definition—i.e. good governance, rule of law, and accountability. Understanding the dynamics surrounding the opposition in its function role can allow us to determine how well opposition parties in new democracies can reach those political goals scholars epitomize in classic forms of parliamentary democracy—representation, responsiveness, accountability, rule of law, and other aspects of good governance—through extra-parliamentary tactics. As with boycotts, limited opposition parties can use tools such as the media and protests to encourage the government to

change or abandon policies, or even step down (Blondel 1997; Lindberg 2004; Morgenstern et. al. 2008; Ryan 2011). These tactics have the potential to level the playing field in new democracies, even in political environments where institutions limit the ability of co-governance and other typical tactics available to opposition parties. This can shed light on the nuances of alternative models of opposition, and upon when and where extra-parliamentary models can successfully lead to democratic goals.

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